

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOLUME I.



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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA:

A COLLECTION OF INSCRIPTIONS

SUPPLEMENTARY TO

THE CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

OF THE

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY,

TRANSLATED BY SEVERAL ORIENTAL SCHOLARS.

EDITED BY

JAS. BURGESS, LL.D., CLE.,

HON A.B.N.A., F.R.S. M.B.A., M. SOC. AS PARIS.

HON COR MEM BERLIN SOC. OF ANTHROPOLOGY, ETC., AND OF NATAVIAN SOC. OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY, ETC
LATE DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

ASSISTANT EDITORS

F. HULTZSCH, PH.D.,

EPIGRAPHIST TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

A. FÜHRER, PH.D.,

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEYOR, NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH

VOLUME I.

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PREFACE.

THE *Epigraphia Indica* originated in a proposal, submitted to the Government of India in February 1887, for the printing of a *Record* to include not only translations of inscriptions—Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, and other—but lists of them and other miscellaneous antiquarian information, including such materials as had been published for the Archæological Survey of Western India in the *Memoranda* issued by the Bombay Government from time to time between 1874 and 1885. On the 17th October following, information was asked by Government and submitted, giving details for a quarterly issue of fasciculi. After further correspondence the publication was sanctioned, and the first part was published in October 1888. After the third part, however, owing primarily to unavoidable delays by the press, it was found impossible to keep the publication up to the quarterly date, and the volume has consequently extended over a longer term than was contemplated, this however is really of little consequence. The materials other than inscriptions, sent to me during the first year, were of little general and permanent interest, while the partial breaking up of the surveys, and my leaving India in 1889, prevented any special effort on behalf of the subsidiary features of the original prospectus. Hence the work has come to be devoted entirely to palæography, which was, indeed, from the first its main purpose.

Indian inscriptions—more so even than those of any other country—are the real archives of the annals of its ancient history, the contemporaneous witnesses of the events and of the men whose deeds they hand down, and their authenticity renders them most valuable for the historian and deserving of careful record. They supply important data bearing on the chronology, geography, religious systems, affiliations of families and dynasties, taxes, land tenures, magistrates, customs, manners, organization of societies, language, and systems of writing of ancient times. Hence the great need for collecting and publishing them with the best translations and comments that modern scholarship can supply. The early pioneers of Indian research fully recognized this, and men like Wilkins, Colin Mackenzie, Colebrooke, Babington, Drs Mill and Stevenson, Wathen, W Elliot, and J. Prinsep, laid the foundation of, and made important contributions to, Indian palæographic study. So early as 1835, M Jacquet of Paris projected a *Corpus Inscriptionum*, and made arrangements to include in it the collections formed by Colonel Colin Mackenzie, but an early death prevented this young French Orientalist from realizing his purpose. The Bombay Temple Commission, in 1851, recalled attention to the inscriptions, and, in 1856, they reported on “the extreme

“desirableness of the publication, under the auspices of Government, of facsimiles or copies, with decipherments and translations.” The report added that “the publication of such a *Corpus Inscriptionum* appeared to be an object of such importance in an antiquarian and historical point of view (for it would embrace the most important *documenta* of Indian history), that it well merited the combined attention of Government, of learned societies, and of individual orientalists.” This project also remained unfulfilled, and it was not till 1877 that Major-General (now General Sir) A. Cunningham, C.S.I., issued the first volume of his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, the object of which was “to bring together in a few handy and accessible volumes all the inscriptions of India which now lie scattered about in the Journals of our different Asiatic Societies” This volume (in demy quarto) contained the Aśoka inscriptions on twenty-six lithographed plates of reductions, made by a native draftsman, from the impressions available. The second volume has not appeared, but the third, containing the inscriptions of the early Gupta kings and their successors, was prepared by Mr. J. F. Fleet, C.I.E., B.C.S., and published in 1887 in a large super-royal quarto volume,—the plates being photo-lithographic reductions from mechanical impressions taken from the originals, and the whole edited with Mr. Fleet’s usual care and scholarship.

To attempt collecting the ancient and mediæval inscriptions of India, however, in separate volumes, arranged by dynasties or even periods, would necessitate indefinite delays and would still be imperfect, and therefore it seems altogether better to publish them as they are found in the fasciculi of the *Epigraphia Indica*, and trust to the index of the volume to facilitate references. This volume is thus to be regarded as properly one of the series of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, and practically may stand as the fourth volume of that publication.

The contents of this volume speak for themselves. The newly discovered twelfth Aśoka edict from Shāhbāzgarhī, the great Śīyadonī inscription found by me in the Lalitpur District, the new inscription of Toramāna Shāha, the ancient Hīrahadagalli copper-plate grant, the complete text of the Lakkhā Mandal inscription, and the important series of Jaina inscriptions found by Dr. Fuhrer in the excavations at Mathurā,—are only part of the important fresh contributions to epigraphy included in it. Facsimiles of the more important inscriptions are also given.

With the numerous epigraphs that have not been published before, it supplies also corrected editions from facsimile impressions of others that had been quite inadequately edited. The scholarship and special experience of the various translators,—Professors G. Buhler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E., of Vienna, F. Kielhorn, Ph.D., C.I.E., of Göttingen, and J. Eggeling, Ph.D., of Edinburgh, E. Hultzsch, Ph.D., and J. F. Fleet, C.I.E., B.C.S.—are a

sufficient guarantee for their notes and versions To all of them my best thanks are due for the care and attention they have given to the work submitted to them , and specially to Dr. E. Hultzsch, who has given unflagging aid in revising the proofs for the press. Dr. Fuhrer, also, has contributed many most valuable impressions for translation, including the whole of the Jaina inscriptions from Mathurâ

The paper by Professor H Jacobi, Ph D., of Bonn University, on the computation of Hindu dates, is one of special and permanent value to all students of Indian chronology

The Government of India has sanctioned the continuance of the work in a second volume, and much progress has already been made in preparing the materials for it. It will contain a revised edition, with facsimiles, of the great inscriptions of Aśoka by Professor G. Buhler, who will also supply other papers on further Jaina inscriptions from Mathurâ, on the Sâñchi inscriptions, etc. At my request the Government of India has kindly secured an impression of the Badal pillar inscription, and through the favour of Colonel S S. Jacob, C I.E., of Jaypur, *estampages* of the Harsha inscription have been obtained, which, together with others, have been edited by Professor F Kielhorn. Then Muhammadan inscriptions have hitherto been overlooked or but sparingly edited , and it is intended to give them a place in the next volume, for which two series of considerable length have been already prepared.

JAS BURGESS.

22, SETON PLACE, EDINBURGH

5th October 1891

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

SANSKRIT AND PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS.

The great importance of Indian Inscriptions as a means of illustrating and completing our knowledge of the history of the country, fixing the eras of its dynasties, the character of its peculiar land tenures, the derivation and developement of its various alphabets, and other subjects of like importance, has been long since recognised by Colebrooke, Prinsep, Lassen, and all orientalists. Of late years, increasing attention has been given to the study of these ancient records—preserved on stone and copper-plates, and which primarily served as the title-deeds of grants and endowments made by kings or chiefs to temples and religious personages or communities. Most of the earlier collections of transcripts made from these documents¹ were only eye-copies, and, however carefully prepared, were but very rarely sufficiently correct and reliable for purposes of critical translation. The late Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I., LL.D., when in the Madras Civil Service, was the first to employ, to any large extent, the system of taking direct ink impressions from copper-plate grants. Many of these were afterwards published by me in *The Indian Antiquary*. This method, like photography, provided the means of supplying to scholars facsimiles of the documents free from clerical errors or modification of the alphabets. Methods of taking direct inked impressions from stone, also, have been devised; and *estampages* can thus be taken, having the advantages of presenting a direct reading of the inscription on the inked face and a mould from it on the back, so that the slightest scratch on the stone is retained on a carefully-taken impression. With such a copy before him, the epigraphist can leisurely decipher the inscription in his study with about the same accuracy and facility as if he had the lithic record before him.

The inscriptions in the following pages have been prepared from such impressions and edited by most competent scholars, with comments, texts, and translations. The publication of them will thus place in the hands of European and other students of Indian history and antiquities, trustworthy texts and versions of the inscriptions collected by the Archaeological Surveys,² and will be a reliable source from which to obtain the materials required in the prosecution of their studies in the historical, antiquarian, philological, or other branches of Oriental research. Selected facsimiles of the more notable inscriptions, on a reduced scale, accompany the texts.

J. B.

For some account of the collections made and the work done in this department of research previous to 1878, see my remarks in the Introduction to *Pāli Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, arranged by Mr J. F. Fleet, B.C.S.

² The Inscriptions of the Madras Survey will be published separately by Dr. E. Hultzsch.

I.—A PRÂKRIT GRANT OF THE PALLAVA KING ŚIVASKANDAVARMAN,
By G. BÜHLER, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E., VIENNA.

For the edition of the subjoined grant I have used a photograph and two rubbings (A and B), made over to me by Dr. J. Burgess, C.I.E., Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India. The original plates were purchased from Chennappa, a merchant of Hirahadagalli in the Bellâri district. They are eight in number and measure each 8 inches by 3 $\frac{1}{4}$. They are numbered with the ancient numeral signs of the *akṣarapallī*; but, contrary to the ordinary usage, the figures are found on the first side of each sheet.¹ The plates are held together by a single ring which passes through holes in the upper right-hand corners.

The technical execution is extremely rude and so careless that the holes for the ring have been cut, after the engraving had been done. Portions of several *akṣaras*, e.g., of the second on plate IIa, l. 1, have thus been destroyed. The preservation is good. Only in the last line of plate IIa one important word has become illegible. The characters closely resemble those used in Sir W. Elliot's grant of Vijayabuddhavarman's queen.² The letters *ṣa da* and *da* look frequently much alike, and the same remark applies in some cases to *ta* and *na* as well as to *ta* and *bha*. The *anusvāra* is indicated by a small cross. Among the numeral signs there are several remarkable forms. Thus the figure 2 is expressed by a dot and a slanting straight line, the figure 3 by a peculiar combination of three straight lines. On the other hand the figure 1 is expressed by a curved stroke, as in the grant edited by Mr. Fleet.

With the exception of the last line, which contains a final *mangala* in good Sanskrit, the grant is written in a Prâkrit dialect, which comes close to the literary Pâli, but shows also a number of peculiarities and divergent forms. The majority of the latter is traceable partly in the edicts of Aśoka and partly in the inscriptions of the caves of Western India and of the Amarâvatī Stûpa, while a few occur only in other literary Prâkrits. The points which here deserve special mention are the following:

1. The palatal *ja* is used frequently for *ya*. It appears throughout in the names, which in Sanskrit end in *ârya*, e.g., *Golasamajasa* (l. 12), *Agisamajasa* (l. 18), i.e., in Sanskrit *Agnîśarmâryasya*, &c. In other words, the change is less constant. Thus we have

¹ The same anomaly is observable in Mr Fleet's edition of Sir W Elliot's grant of Vijayabuddhavarman's queen, where, besides, plate IIb bears the figure 3, while plate III is not marked at all.

² *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX, pp. 101-102. Unfortunately the greater part of the text of this grant makes no sense in Mr. Fleet's edition. I at first suspected that his facsimile was not exact. But a comparison of the original plates, which were presented to the British Museum by Sir Walter Elliot, has convinced me that it is absolutely trustworthy. A repeated examination of the document and a comparison with our grant have led me, however, to differ from Mr Fleet with respect to the reading of a number of words. I read—

l. 1 *Bhadraddhyassa* instead of *Bhadraddhyasa*.

l. 8. *Amhah* for *abâh* (?)

l. 9. *Nivattand* and *amhah*, for *nivattane*, *adhd*(?)*hi*

l. 10 *Sampadattâ tam nâtûsa gâmeyikâ dyuttâ* for *samya dattâ tam tâtûsa-gâme yeld* 200 (P) 40 (P) *ttara*

l. 11. *Savaparishdrehî parisharamdhâ parisharayaṣṭi* for *sahya parisharîḥ parishdrazhaparihaya*. If the last two words are changed to *parisharamdhâ* and *parishdrazayanti* [cha], a translation of lines 8—11 is possible, and it will be “(To the temple) of divine Nârâyana (a piece of) land, four *nivartanas* & has been given by us, (the gift) having (been) made a means of increasing our length of life and power. Knowing that (our) officials living in the village, should exempt it (and) cause it to be exempted with all exemptions.”

In l. 15 I read *pivati* instead of *devati*, because here, as also in *gâmeyikâ* (l. 10) the curved line to the right of the consonant which itself comes closer to *pa* than to *da*, is meant—as often in another class of inscriptions, for s I am unable to decipher lines 4—7, which remain utterly unintelligible.

kareyya (l. 40) and *kareyyāma* (l. 41) against *kāravejjā* (l. 40), *vatteja* (l. 46), and *hoja* (l. 48), *yo* (l. 46) against *jo* (l. 44); *ppayutte* (l. 6) against *°samjutto* (l. 47). A great many other words, like *°yāji* (l. 1), *visayesa°* (l. 3), show only *ya*. The occasional change of *ya* to *ja* separates the language of the inscription from the literary Pāli and the dialects used in Aśoka's inscriptions, while it agrees with the practice followed in the cave-inscriptions. An instance of the change, which in literary Pāli is very rare, of *ja* to *ya*, occurs in *Bhāraddāya* (l. 2, 16, 19) for Sanskrit *Bhāradvāja*.

2 A very peculiar principle is observed in the change of *na* to *na*. It almost invariably takes place in the affixes of inflection, *Pallavāna* (l. 2), *°manusāna* (l. 7), *°vatthavāna* (l. 8), *°bamhanānaṃ* (l. 8, 27, 30, 38), *bhātukāna* (l. 18), *°pamukkhānaṃ* (l. 27, 38), *°līhītena* (l. 51), *kātānaṃ*, (l. 10, 29), *nātānaṃ*, the only counter-instance being *°madena* (l. 40). In other cases frequently, though not invariably, a single medial *na* suffers the same change, while initial *na* and medial *naa* always remain unchanged. On the whole the lingual *na* occurs more frequently than in Pāli, in the Gurnār redaction of Aśoka's edicts and the cave-inscriptions, but more rarely than in the Prākṛit of the Jainas, where it has nearly supplanted the dental nasal.

3. Some cases in which hard consonants are softened likewise come nearer to the usage of the Jaina and Mahārāshtri dialects, than to that of the Pāli and of the older inscriptions. Thus we find *Kassava°* (l. 18) for *Kāśyapa°*, *kāravejjā* (l. 40), *amuvattāveti* (l. 45), and *vi* (l. 6, 29), while the original consonant is preserved in *parihāpetavva* (l. 37), and *api* (l. 37). With these instances may be compared *°bhada* for *bhata* (l. 7, 43), and *kada* or *kada* (l. 51) against *°adhikata* (l. 4). An exceptional case of hardening occurs in *mayātāye* for Sanskrit *maryādayā*. The representation of Sanskrit *varsha* by *vāsa* (l. 48, 49) and *varisa* (l. 42) is against the usage in Pāli and in most of Aśoka's edicts, but is found in the cave-inscriptions.

4. Some peculiar forms, in the declension especially of pronouns and numerals, which deserve to be noted, are the masculine *sammo* (l. 46) instead of the neuter *sammam*, Sanskrit *śarma*, the nominative plural masculine *chattāri* (l. 18, 39) instead of *chattāro*, the instrumental singular *°majātāye* (l. 43), the form *be* (l. 14, 20, 39) for *dve* or *duve*, the genitive plural *amham* (l. 3, 42) instead of *amhāham*, the genitive plural *etesā* (l. 27) for *etesam*, and *chasi* (l. 46), i. e., *cha esi*,³ for *cha esam*, the genitive plural *chatunham* (l. 18) instead of *chatunnam*. Analogies for the first three forms occur already in Aśoka's edicts. The last five are known from the cave-inscriptions and the later Prākṛits. Most remarkable is the inflection of the Dvandva compound in the phrase *Kumāranamdi-Kumārasama-Kottasama-Sattissa cha chatunham bhātukāna chattāri pattibhāgā* (l. 17), where we should expect the termination of the plural instead of that of the singular. The preceding adjective *Kosikasagotasa* and the following *cha* show that we have not to deal with an accidental mistake. Analogies are found in the Sanskrit *Sūtras*.⁴ Thus we find in Āpastamba's *Dharmasūtra*, I. 31, 21, *prāyatyabrahmacharyakālecha yayā cha*.

5. There are further several cases, which exhibit a curious disregard of the rules of concord.—L. 10-11 the adjectives *appatthatasāsanasa* and *anekahi[raṇa]kodāgo-halasatasahasappadāyino*, standing in the genitive singular, have to be taken with the

³ With respect to the elision of the second vowel compare Pāli *chattārome* instead of *chattāro me* and other instances mentioned by Kuhn, *Beiträge zur Pali Grammatik*, p. 60.

⁴ See also my remarks in the *Zeitschrift der Deutsch-Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLI, p. 250.

substantive *mahārāja-Bappasāmīhi*, which stands in the instrumental plural. Again, the names of the officials in l 3-6, *visayesa—adhikātādīke* and so forth, stand in the accusative plural, but the last noun of the series, which must have been governed by the same omitted verb as the others, *bhadamanusāna* (l 7), shows the genitive plural. The explanation of these two anomalies seems to be that two constructions, either of which would be permissible in itself, have been mixed up. In the first case the word which governs the three nouns is *puvudattam* (l 12), and this might in Prākṛit be construed either with the genitive or with the instrumental. Moreover, as the substantive is the name of a royal personage, the use of the plural instead of the singular is also permissible. The construction, which the passage shows, has, I think, been caused thereby, that the writer first intended to use the genitive singular throughout and then changed his mind, preferring the construction with the instrumental and the plural. Want of care, or the idea that constructions, differing in form but identical in sense, may be used indiscriminately, made a correction appear unnecessary. The same remarks apply to the second case, where either the accusative or the genitive used throughout would be correct.⁵ More difficult is the explanation of the construction of the masculine *sampadatto* (l. 30) with the neuter *puvudattam*, which latter agrees with the omitted substantive *vātalam*. If the anomaly has not been caused by a mere *lapsus styli*, it seems to point to an utter loss of feeling for the differences of gender. The fact that the neuter *chattār* is used as a masculine, speaks in favour of the second alternative.

6 Finally, the spelling of the inscription calls also for a few remarks. It shows throughout a mingling of two different methods, the abbreviated of the official and commercial classes and the etymological of the Pandits. According to the former, which is used nearly throughout, as might be expected, in the edicts of Aśoka and mostly in the cave-inscriptions, and which was until a short time ago universally prevalent in government and merchants' offices, each single consonant may also be read double. Hence we find *Sivakhamdaramo* (l 2) for **vammo*, *gumike* (l 5) for *gummike*, *dhamā°* (l 9) for *dhammā°*, *Agisamajasa* for *Aggisammajjassa*, and numerous similar instances, while the spelling of *aggithoma°* and *dhamma°* (l. 1), and of a great many other words, follows the etymological principle. In some cases the latter is adopted, though it violates the phonetic laws of the Prākṛit. Thus *Atteya°* (l 13) is a close transliteration of *Atreya*, but the Prākṛit dialects admit only the forms *Āteya* and *Atteya*. A word in which both principles of spelling seem to be blended, is *Vatsasagotasa* (l. 22), which corresponds to Sanskrit *Vātsyasagotrasya*. The correct Prākṛit spelling would be *Vachchhasagottassa*. It may, however, be that the writer put *t* because he was accustomed to pronounce it like *chha*.

The historical information, which the grant conveys, is scanty, and in the present state of our knowledge of the history of Southern India not particularly useful. The Pallava king Śivaskandavarman of Kāñchi, who was affiliated to the Brahmanical *gotra* of the Bhāradvājas, confirmed and enlarged, in the eighth year of his reign, a donation, made formerly by the great king, the lord Bappa (i.e., probably by his father), to certain Brahmans, who resided at Āpitti or Āpittī, and were *bhojakas*, i.e., probably freeholders of the village Chillearekakodumka or Chilleerekakodumka. The latter village was included in the Sātālhanī district (*rattha*). The gift consisted of

⁵ See also my remarks on similarly lax construction in the Sanskrit *Sūtras*, in the *Zeitschrift der Deutsch-Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, volume XL, page 532ff.

a garden in Chillarekakodumka, the income from which was to be divided in the manner specified, of two pieces of land in Âpitti, and of some serfs. The writer of the grant was the privy councillor (*śahasādhikata*) Bhattiśarman, who is called *Kolivālabhojaka*, i.e., the Ināmdār of Kolivāla. It is for the present impossible to say how the donor is connected with the other Pallava kings, known from the *śāsanas* as yet published, or to fix the period when he reigned. With respect to the latter point I am, however, inclined to assume with Mr Fleet (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. IX, p. 101), that the kings, named in the Prākṛit grants, belong to an earlier time than those who issued the Sanskrit *śāsanas*. The want of accurate maps makes it impossible for me to identify the villages and the district named.

In spite of these drawbacks our grant possesses a very great importance. Like the great Nānāghāt inscription of Satakaṇṇi's widow Nāyanikā and like the Elliot grant of Vijayabuddhavarman's queen, it shows that the use of Prākṛit in the older inscriptions is not due to the influence of Buddhism, but that in early times Prākṛit was the official language of the Indian kings, while the use of Sanskrit was still confined to the Brahmanical schools. Our grant and the other two documents mentioned were issued by adherents of the Brahmanical faith. The use of Sanskrit in the comminatory verses, included in the Elliot grant, and in the *mangala* at the end of our grant, show that the said language was not unknown to the persons who composed the text. If, nevertheless, the chief portions of the grants are written in Prākṛit, some reason, not of a religious nature, must have dictated the use of the vulgar idiom. This reason, I think, can only have been official usage. The results of the recent epigraphic and linguistic studies are most unfavourable to the theory that there was in India once a golden age during which kings, priests, and peasants spoke the language of Pāṇini. They rather tend to show that the classical Sanskrit is a Brahmanical modification of the, or a, northern dialect, elaborated by the grammatical schools, which very slowly and in historical times gained ascendancy throughout the whole of India and among all the educated classes. Our inscription is an important link in a long chain of arguments supporting this view. Its full importance can, however, only be made apparent in a comprehensive discussion of the history of the Aryan languages of India.

TRANSCRIPT

PLATE I

Siddham||^a

- 1 Kāñchīpurā ṛṣṭṭhomaṛājapeṣameḥṣṭyāji dharmamahā
2 rājādhirājo Bharaddājo Pallavaṇa Sivakṣirāmaṇo
3 amham viṣṭyasaṛattharājāṁmārasenāpati-

PLATE IIa

- 4 ratthikamādabīnudesādīkatādīke g'īmāg'īmabhojake
5 vallave govallave amacheche āraṇḍhikāte gumike tūthike
6 neyike anne vi cha amhipeṣamappayatte simchuramṭak-
7 bhadamanusana [kadu o] pāñhāram vitāram chutthi danī

^a This word stands on the margin, on a level with the second line

L 1. One would have expected *aṅṣṭhoma*^a

L 3 The *tha* of *ratthā* looks exactly like that of *ṅṣṭhoma*

L 4. The *s* of *raṣṭhika* is very faint, read *mādhavika*

L 5 Read *aranādhikāte*

L 6 Only the right side of *na* in *ṇpesana* is preserved

L 7 The letters placed between brackets are very doubtful, with the exception of the last vowel, *pāñhāram* is particularly plain

PLATE IIb.

8 Āpittivatthavāna Chillarekakodumkabhajakabamhanānam appa-
 9 na kulagottasa dhamāyubhalaya-ovadhaniko vijayavejyāke
 10 cha kātūnam appatibhātasāsanassa anekahirogakodī-
 11 gohalasantasahassappadāyino mahārāja-Bappasāmīhi

PLATE IIIa.

12 vātaka Chillarekakodumke puvvadattarī Golisamajasa patibhāgo 1
 13 Ātayasagotasa Agisamajasa patibhāgā 4
 14 Mādhārāsa patibhāgā be 2 jāmātukasa Agillasa pati-
 15 bhāgo 1 Hāritasagotasa Kālasamasa pattibhāgā 3

PLATE IIIb.

16 Bhāradāyasagotasa Kumārasamasa patibhāgā 2 Kosika-
 17 sagotasa Kumārannarīdi-Kumārasama-Kottasama-Sattissa cha
 18 chatunharī bhātukāna chattārī pattibhāgā 4 Kassavasagotta-
 19 sa Bhatisa patibhāgo 1 Bhāradāyasa Khamdakoṇḍisa

PLATE IVa.

20 patibhāgā be 2 Khamdadhāsa patibhāgo 1 Bappasa
 21 patibhāgo 1 Dattajasa patibhāgā be 2 Namdijasa
 22 patibhāgā 3 Vatsasagotasa Radasamasa pati-
 23 bhāgo 1 Dāmajasa patibhāgo 1 Sālasamajasa pati-
 24 bhāgo 1

PLATE IVb.

25 Parimitasa patibhāgo 1 Nāgannarīdisa patibhāgo 1 Gohsa
 26 patibhāgo 1 Khamdasamasa patibhāgo 1 Sāmijasa patibhāgo 1
 27 etesi bamhanānam Agisamajapamukhānam Sātāhaniratte
 28 gāme Chillarekakodumke dakḥinasimārī puvvadattarī

PLATE Va.

29 amhehi vi āchandatārakālīka kātūnam udakādum sampa-
 30 datto etarī bamhagānam Chillarekakodumkavāṭakam
 31 akarayollakavinesikkhattāvāsarī addhadadhibāhanam
 32 amttasamvinayikarī alonagulaohchhobham akavetthi-

PLATE Vb.

33 komjallam apāraṇaparabāhivaddagāhanam atanakattāgaha-
 34 nam ahāritakasākapuphagāhanam evamādikehi atthā-
 35 rasajātīparihārehi viṣayavāsīhi Apī-
 36 ttīvasīhi Chillarekakodumkavāsīhi cha pariharitavam

PLATE VIa.

37 parihāpetavva cha ttī apī oha Āpittiyam Agisamaja-
 38 pamukhāna bahmanānam khalasa nivatanam gharassa nivata-
 39 nam addhikā ohātārī 4 kolikā be ttī 2 eva nātūnam
 40 atha kochi vallabhamadena pīlā bādhā kaṇṇeyya kāravejjā

L 10 Read "hiraṇa."

L 12. Possibly *vāṭakam* and *Golisamajasa*.

L 13 The proper Prākṛit form of *Ātreya* is not *Atteya*,
 but *Atteyya*°.

L 15 Read *Hārīta*°

L 16 The figure is doubtful

L 31 Perhaps "*āhadāvāsam*" to be read, a peculiar
 curve is attached to the right limb of *la* in *akarayollaka*°
 and *akurayollaka*°

L 39 Read *chattārī*, or *chātārī*

PALLAVA COPPERPLATE GRANT OF SIVASKANDAVARMAN

I.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 श्रीमद्विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

II^a

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीविष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

II^b

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीविष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

PALLAVA COPPERPLATE GRANT OF SIVASKANDAVARMAN

III^a

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ पुनः पुनः विजयं विजयं विजयं
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III^b

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ पुनः पुनः विजयं विजयं विजयं
 विजयं विजयं विजयं विजयं विजयं विजयं विजयं विजयं
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IV^a

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ पुनः पुनः विजयं विजयं विजयं
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PALLAVA COPPERPLATE GRANT OF SIVASKANDAVARMAN

IV^b

புலகை பரிசுந் / நன்கு மயங்குந் / விச
பரிசுந் / நன்கு மயங்குந் / விச
பரிசுந் / நன்கு மயங்குந் / விச
பரிசுந் / நன்கு மயங்குந் / விச
பரிசுந் / நன்கு மயங்குந் / விச

V^a

புலகை பரிசுந் / நன்கு மயங்குந் / விச
பரிசுந் / நன்கு மயங்குந் / விச
பரிசுந் / நன்கு மயங்குந் / விச
பரிசுந் / நன்கு மயங்குந் / விச
பரிசுந் / நன்கு மயங்குந் / விச

V^b

புலகை பரிசுந் / நன்கு மயங்குந் / விச
பரிசுந் / நன்கு மயங்குந் / விச
பரிசுந் / நன்கு மயங்குந் / விச
பரிசுந் / நன்கு மயங்குந் / விச
பரிசுந் / நன்கு மயங்குந் / விச

PALLAVA COPPERPLATE GRANT OF SIVASKANDAVARMAN.

VI^a

ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼ਕੁਪਤਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ
 • ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼ਕੁਪਤਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ
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 ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ

VI^b

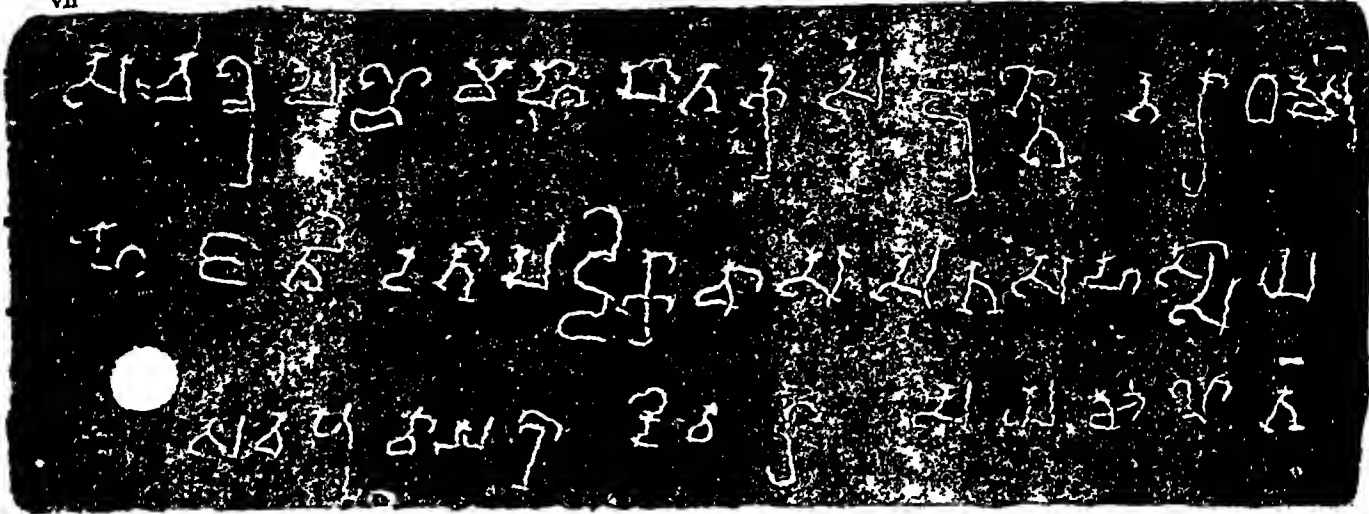
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 • ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ

VII^a

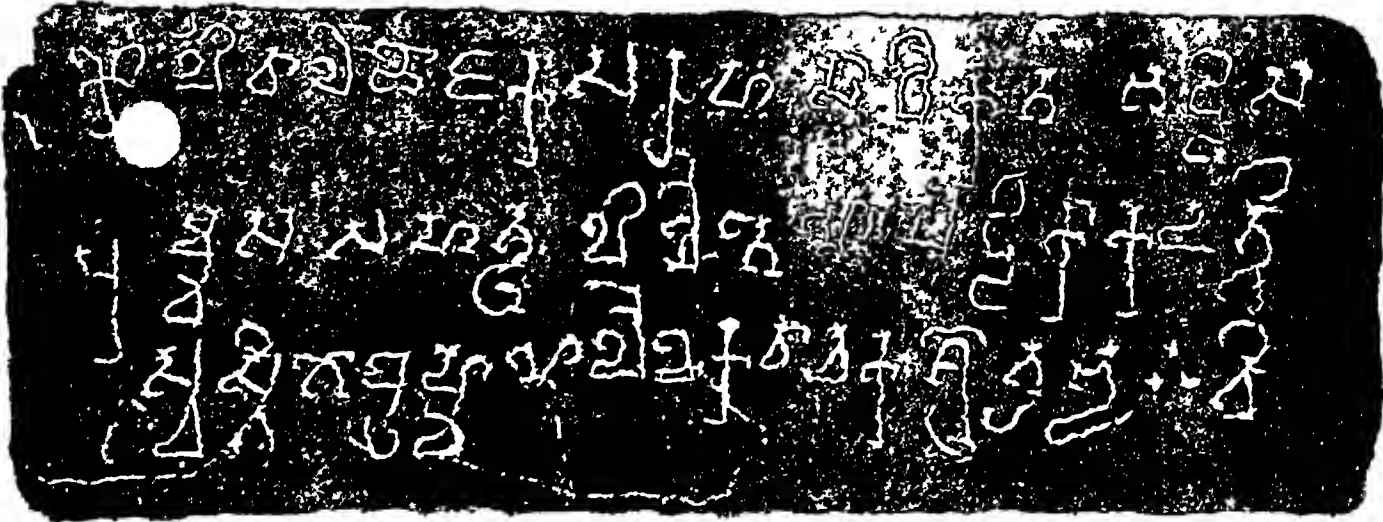
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 • ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ
 ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ ਮੁਖਿ

PALLAVA COPPERPLATE GRANT OF SIVASKANDAVARMAN

VII^b



VIII



IX

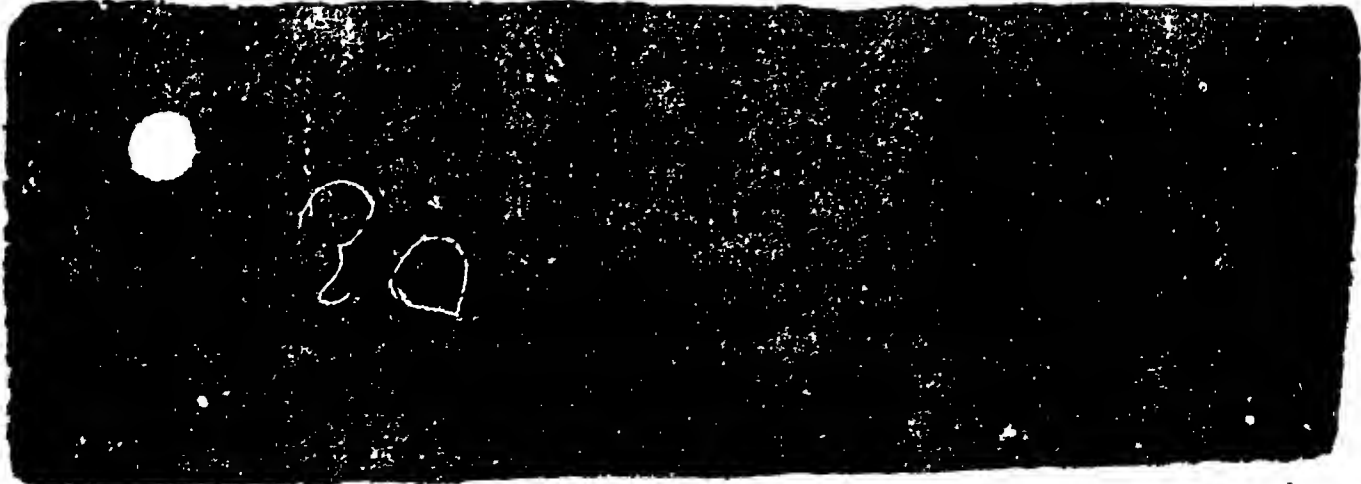


PLATE VIb.

41 vâ tasa khu amhe nigahavârana kareyyâma ti bhûyo cha
 42 varisasatasahassâtirekasamakâle amham Pallava-
 43 kulamahamtte bhavissabhade anne cha no

PLATE VIIa

44 vasudhâdhiye bhaye abbatthemî jo sakakâle upari-
 45 likhitamajâtâye anuvattihâveti tasa
 46 vo sammo ti yo chasi vigghe vatteja

PLATE VIIb

47 sa cha khu pañchamahâpâtakasamjutto narâdhamo
 48 hoja ti dattâ pattikâ vâsasatasahassâya
 49 samva 8 vâsa 6 diva 5 sayamâpatam

PLATE VIII

50 Kolivâlabhojakasa rahasâdhikata-Bhattisa-
 51 mmasa sabatthalikhitena pattikâ kada ttî
 52 svasti gobrahmanalekhakhavâchakasârotribhya itî [||]

TRANSLATION

"Success ! From Kâmchîpura—the righteous' supreme king of great kings of the Pallavas Sivakhamdavama (Śivaskandavarman), a Bhâraddâya⁸ (Bhâradvâja) an offerer of Agnishtoma, Vâjapeya and Âśvamedha (*sacrifices*) [*issues the following orders*]."

"[*We send greeting*]⁹ to our lords of provinces, *vatthas*,¹⁰ royal princes, generals, rulers of districts, custom-house officers,¹¹ prefects of countries and others, to the freeholders of various villages,¹² to herdsmen, cowherds, ministers, foresters, *gumikas*, *tûthikas*,

L 41 The photograph seems to give *kareyyâmeti*

L 43 Read *mahamte*

L 44 *Bhaye* looks nearly like *taye*

L 45 Stands for *anuvattihâveti*, which perhaps should be restored

L 51 Perhaps *kada* is to be read

⁷ Compare Mr Fleet's grant, *Indian Antiquary*, vol V, p 155, line 17 of the transcript

⁸ Compare Mr Fleet's grants, *Indian Antiquary*, vol V, p 51, line 15 of the transcript, and *ibidem*, page 155, line 14 of the transcript, as well as vol IX, p 101, line 2 of the transcript, where *Bhâraddâya* has to be read for *Bhâradvâja*

⁹ Two verbs have been left out, one in the third person singular after *Sivakhamdavamo*, and one in the first person plural, or in the absolute at the end of the list of officials. For the pronoun *amham* 'our' shows that a new sentence begins with line 3, and the words *vitârâma chattha dâni* prove that it must have stood in the first person plural or in the absolute. The first verb was probably *ânveti* or some equivalent. The second may either have been a word expressing command, or, what I consider more likely, some expression implying greeting, such as are found in many other inscriptions.

¹⁰ *Vattha* would correspond to Sanskrit *vâstva* or *vâstra*, the sense of which does not fit. Possibly it may be a mistake for *vanîtha* or *bandha*, which both are explained in Hemachandra's *Desikoshâ* by *bhṛtya*, 'servant'.

¹¹ I consider the correction *mândavika* as certain and take the word *manlaba* or *mandapa*, from which it has been derived, in the sense of the modern *mândavi*, 'custom house'—see Molesworth, *Marâthî Dictionary*, sub voce. The *saṭhikas* are frequently mentioned in Sanskrit inscriptions.

¹² That *bhojaka* does not mean 'temple priest,' but 'inâmdar,' or 'freeholder,' seems to follow from its use in line 8, where the donees are called *Chillarekakodumkabhajakas*, who lived in Âpittî, and in line 50, where the privy councillor Bhaṭṭisamma receives the title *Kolivâlabhojake*. Such a despised personage as a temple priest could hardly become a minister. Professor Fausbøll points out to me that *gâmâgâmbhojaka* may be rendered as above, as repetitions of the same word with a lengthening of the final vowel of the first are commonly used in Pâli in order to indicate the *vipsâ*.

neyikas,¹³ and all others employed in our service, to roaming (*spies*) and warriors,¹⁴ and we grant here an immunity (*viz.*) the garden in Chillarekakodumka, which was formerly given by the great king, the lord Bappa,¹⁵ a giver of many *krors* of gold and of one hundred thousand ox-ploughs,¹⁶—while he made (*the gift*) a means of the increase of the merit, longevity, power and fame of (*his*) own family and race—to the Brāhmins, freeholders of Chillarekakodumka (*and*) inhabitants of Âpitti, (*viz*) to Golasamaja (Golasarmārya) one share of the produce,¹⁷ to Agisamaja (Agnisarmārya) of the Âtteya (Âtreya) gotra four shares of the produce, to Mādihara (Māthara) two shares of the produce, to (*his*) son-in-law (?) Agilla (Agnila) one share of the produce, to Kālasama (Kālasarman) of the Hārīta gotra two (?) shares of the produce, to Kumārasama (Kumārasarman) of the Bhāradāya (Bhāradvāja) gotra two shares of the produce, to the four brothers Kumāranamdi, (Kumāranandin), Kumārasama, (Kumārasarman), Kottasama (Kottasarman) and Satti (Śakti) of the Kosika (Kauśika) gotra four (4) shares of the produce, to Bhatti (Bhatti) of the Kassava (Kāśyapa) gotra one share of the produce, to Khamdakomdi (Skandakoti ?) the Bhāradāya (Bhāradvāja) two shares of the produce, to Khamdadha (Skanda-riddha) one share of the produce, to Bappa one share of the produce, to Dattaja (Dattārya) two shares of the produce,¹⁷ to Namdiya (Nandyārya) three shares of the produce, to Rudasama (Rudrasarman) of the Vātasya gotra one share of the produce, to Dāmaja (Dāmārya) one share of the produce, to Sālasama (Śyālasarman ?) one share of the produce, to Parimita¹⁸ (?) one share of the produce, to Nūganamdi one share of the produce, to Goli (?) one share of the produce, to Khamdasama (Skandasarman) one share of the produce, to Sāmija (Svāmyārya) one share of the produce

“By Us also the formerly-given (*garden*)¹⁹ (situated) on the southern *śim*, in the village of Chillarekakodumka (*and*) in the province (*rattha*) of Sātāhani, has been granted to the above-mentioned Brāhmins, chief among whom is Agisamaja (Agnisarmārya), (*the gift*) being confirmed by a libation of water and being made (*valid*) as long as the moon and stars endure.

This garden in Chillarekakodumka, which belongs to the Brāhmins, (*is to be*) free from taxes , free from the taking of sweet and sour milk,²⁰²¹ free

¹³ The first of the three words left untranslated corresponds to Sanskrit *gauḥmika*. *Asgulma* means both ‘a thicket’ and ‘a picket of soldiers,’ the derivative may denote either a kind of forest-official or the leader of a gulfma of warriors. *Tutika* may be connected with Prakrit *tāka* ‘a Tirtha,’ and mean ‘overseers of fords’ or ‘of bathing places.’ With *neyika* compare *nayokāh* in Mr Fleet and Elliot’s grant, *Indian Antiquary*, vol V, p 52, line 28 of the text. Mr Fleet changes it to *nyuktāh*, which now seems a rather doubtful emendation. I suspect that *nayokāh* is a mistake for *nayikāh*, which would exactly correspond to *neyika*, and that both words are corruptions of Sanskrit *nāyaka*, commonly pronounced *ndiek*. If this is correct, the term denotes a military officer of the rank of a corporal or a sergeant.

¹⁴ *Sarṇcharantaka* occurs also in Mr Fleet’s grant, *loc cit*, line 29 of the text, and Mr. Fleet has translated it by ‘travellers.’ I believe that royal servants are meant, and that the word refers to the spies whom the Indian kings sent into the provinces to explore the behaviour of their officials,—see *Manu*, VII, 122

¹⁵ The great king Bappa is probably the donor’s father,—see Mr Fleet’s article, *Indian Antiquary*, vol XV, p 272ff

¹⁶ This may, of course, mean also ‘one hundred thousand cows and (the same number) of ploughs (of land).’ Regarding the various kinds of the measure of land, called ‘a plough,’ see Kullūka on *Manu*, VII, 119

¹⁷ *Patth*, *patth*, *pati*, and *pai*: I take to be the representatives of Sanskrit *prāpti*, which means ‘*āya*,’ ‘produce,’ or ‘income.’ It is, of course, possible that the garden was let and the rent divided among the donees

¹⁸ This name does not seem to be correct, perhaps it should be *Harimista*, i.e., *Harimitra*

¹⁹ The word *vājakam* has been left out by mistake

²⁰ Milk, grass, firewood, vegetables, and so forth had to be furnished gratis by the villagers to royal officers and their servants. The custom still prevails in many native states

²¹ I do not venture to translate *araṭṭhasamvayakam*. The phrase is, of course, identical with that used in the Andhra inscriptions (*Archæological Report, West Ind*, vol IV, pp 104-106, nos 13, 14)—*araṭṭhasamvayika*, my former explanation of which cannot stand

from troubles about salt and sugar,²² free from taxes, forced labour . . ., free from the taking of the oxen in succession,²³ free from the taking of grass and wood, free from the taking of vegetables and flowers, with these and other immunities of the eighteen kinds it must be exempted and caused to be exempted by the inhabitants of the province, by the inhabitants of Âpittî and by the inhabitants of Chillererekakodumka

“Moreover, in Âpittî (one) *nivartana* (has been given) to the Brâhmanas, chief among whom is Agisamaja (Agnisarmârya), for a threshing-floor, (one) *nivartana* for a house, four labourers²⁴ receiving half the produce (*addhikâ*), two Kolikas²⁵

“Now (if) anybody, knowing this, proud of (being) a favourite (of the king), should cause or cause to be caused a small obstacle (to the donees) him, forsooth, we shall restrain by punishment And further I pray both the future great warriors of our Pallava race, (who may rule) within a period exceeding one hundred thousand years, as well as kings, differing from us (in descent), saying (unto them) ‘To him among you blessings, who in his time makes (the people) act according to the rule, written above’²⁶ But he who acts contrary to it shall be the lowest of men, loaded with (the guilt of) the five mortal sins’ A charter (valid) for one hundred thousand years has been given on the fifth day, in the sixth (fortnight) of the rainy season, in the year eight (My) own order ‘The charter has been prepared in his own handwriting by the privy councillor Bhattisama (Bhattisaman), the Kolivâla freeholder’ ‘Welfare to cows, Brâhmanas, the writer, the readers and the hearers’”

POSTSCRIPT

After writing the article printed above, I have received from Dr J Burgess the original plates of the grant for inspection and am now able to give the following additions

The plates are still held together by a single ring to which a nearly circular, somewhat battered, seal about an inch in diameter is attached. This seal shows as emblem an animal, facing the proper right, which may be intended for a deer or a horse Below there stands the word Śivaskandavarmanah, the last three *aksharas* of which are much defaced and doubtful The first four *aksharas* are perfectly plain and leave no doubt that this part of the grant was in Sanskrit, just like the *mangala* at the end.

On the otherwise blank outside of the first plate the word *ditham* is inscribed in very large letters. It is obviously the equivalent of Sanskrit *drishtam*, which according to Dr Bhagvānlâl and Mr Fleet occurs in the beginning of the Chammak and Sivani grants of the Vâkâtaka king Pravarasena II I have formerly tried to show that, though the resemblance of the letters in the latter two documents to *drishtam* is indisputable, they must be read *om om* or *o om*. In face of the plain reading on our plate, it is no longer possible to uphold the latter view The existence of the word *drishtam* must be acknowledged As regards its meaning, I think that we may take it in its literal sense and translate it by ‘SEEN,’ the note indicating that the copy of the grant

²² In Sanskrit *alavanagudakshobham* Digging for salt was a royal monopoly

²³ I suppose this refers to the obligation of furnishing by turns draught-cattle for the progress of the royal officers

²⁴ The *addhikâ* i.e., *ardhikâh*, appear to have been slaves,—see also Âpastamba's *Dharmasûtra*, II, 28, 1

²⁵ *Kolikâ* corresponds to Sanskrit *kaulikâh*, and may mean ‘weavers’ But it is also possible to think of the well-known tribe of the Kolis, who were slaves

²⁶ I transliterate and complete this,—“*yañ svakakâla uparîkshitamaryâdayâ (jandâ) anuvartayettaya vañ karmelâ*

given to the donees had been *seen*, and was acknowledged to be correct by the minister or by the keeper of the records. This explanation is suggested by the position of *dītham* in our grant, where it occupies much the same place as the *Vide* or *Visum* in certain modern official documents. If *dr̥ṣṭam*—*dītham* were to be taken as a *mangala*, as might be supposed on account of its position in the two Vākāṭika grants, it would be difficult to say how it came to be used in that sense.

II—THE PRAŚASTI OF THE TEMPLE OF LAKKHĀ MANDAL AT MADHĀ, IN JAUNSĀR BĀWAR,

By G. BUEHLER, Ph D., LL.D., C I E

The subjoined edition of the Praśasti of the temple of Lakkhā Mandal at Madhā in the Jaunsār Bāwar district on the Upper Jamnā, has been prepared according to an impression supplied by Dr J. Buigess.¹ The inscription seems to be incised with great skill and neatness and to be in an almost perfect state of preservation. The letters are very closely allied to the *Brāhma aksharas* of the Hōmuzi palm-leaves and to the characters of Dr Bhagvānlāl's Nepāl inscriptions Nos. 9-15, as well as of those of Kāmavana and Jhālrapātan.² With the latter it shares one striking peculiarity—the superscribed and often highly ornamental *kānās* and *mātrās*. Our document is, however, not quite regular in this respect. *Prishthamātīs* and *ā*-strokes, marked by a horizontal line, occur likewise. Archaic is the form of *ta* which consists of a semi-circle, inclining towards the right or placed horizontally with the round back upwards. In two cases, l. 13 *Bhatta-Kshemaśiva* and l. 14 *Bhatta-Shanda*, the top of the upper *ta* is flattened. The subscribed palatal *ña* has also an archaic shape, differing only by the curves in the left-hand vertical from the form of the Gupta inscriptions. The older form of *ya* consisting of a loop and two verticals occurs l. 6 and 11, in *yena*.

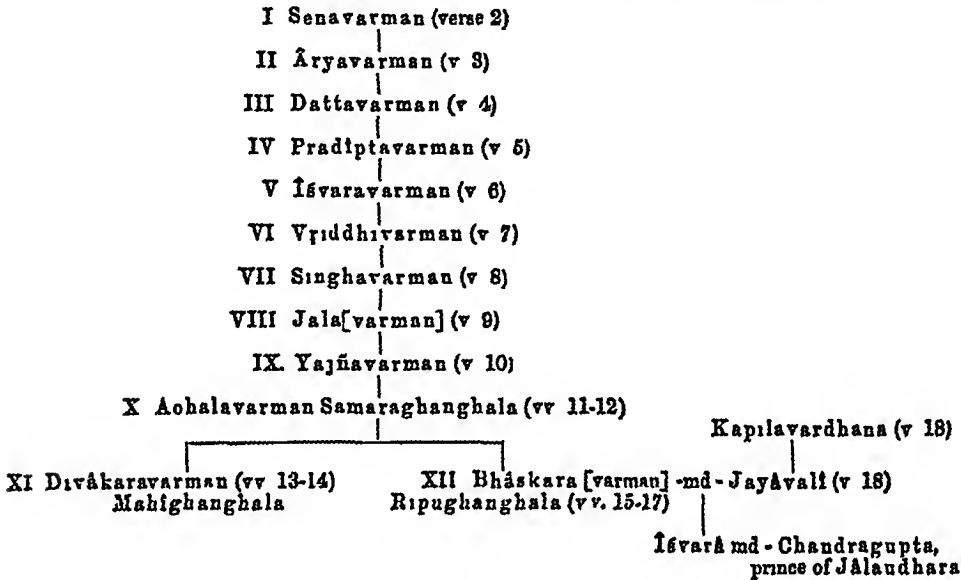
The language is good and pure Sanskrit, offering only a few irregularities in the spelling, which, however, are very common in the older inscriptions. Instead of the *anuvāra* we have invariably *ña* before *śa*, and also before *sa*, with one exception, where the dental *na* stands. For *kṛtavān* the inscription has, l. 4, *kṛtaivān*, for *kṛtās*, l. 7, *kṛtās*, and for *simha*, l. 1 and 5, *siṅgha*. No distinction is made between *va* and *ba*, a certain indication that then as now the letter *va* was always pronounced *ba* in Northern India. Above the inscription there are in the centre some irregular letters of later date which seem to read *Śrī-Hattādhisvarebhyah*. Further towards the right stand five indistinct *aksharas* of the same alphabet in which the inscription is written, perhaps *nāratanāsyah* || and finally nearly in the corner above a diagram [īā?] *jaśrīsādhukenah* ||.

As regards the contents of the inscription, it offers (verse 22) a so-called *Praśasti*,—a eulogy or panegyric, composed by Bhatta Vasudeva, son of Bhatta Skanda and grandson of Bhatta Kshemaśiva, and incised in the stone (verse 23) by the mason Īsvaranāga, son of Nāgadatta.

¹ The stone is now in the modern temple of Lakkhā Mandal, where it has recently been placed for safe custody, another shorter and almost obliterated inscription is built into a wall. The Tahsildar of Kāsi brought both to my notice.—J. B.

² *Ind. Ant.*, vol IX, pp 163 seqq., vol X, p 34, and vol V, p 180. Compare also *Anecdota Oroniensia*, vol I, part 3, p 72, note 2.

The Prasasti records the dedication of a temple of Śiva (verse 20) by a princess, Īśvarā, who belonged to the royal race of Singhapura, for the spiritual welfare of her deceased husband. The latter, called Śrī-Chandragupta, was (verse 19) the son of a king of Jālandhara,—apparently himself not a reigning king, but either a younger son or possibly an elder son who died during his father's lifetime. The greater part of the inscription (verses 2-18) is taken up by an account of the ancestors of the *dedicatrix*, and gives us the following pedigree of the kings of Singhapura,³ who, according to verse 2, belonged to the line of Yadu,—the Yādavas of the lunar race,—which had ruled over the country “since the beginning of the Yuga.”



Though one or even several verses are devoted to each royal personage, not a single historical fact is mentioned regarding them. Only with respect to Jayāvali the statement that “she obtained the title *devī* through her virtues,” permits us to infer that she was of comparatively speaking low extraction. As her father Kapilavardhana receives only the epithet *Śrī* ‘the illustrious,’ he probably was nothing more than a common Rajput. The fact that Īśvarā was married to a scion of the royal family of Jālandhara, the modern Jalandhar in the Panjāb, makes it very probable that the district over which her ancestors ruled lay in the same province. Hence the *Saṅghapura rājya* of our inscription may be safely identified with the kingdom of Sang-ho-pu-lo, i.e., Simhapura,⁴ described by Huen Tsiang.⁵ This identification gives us perhaps a clue to the probable date of the inscription and to the period during which the twelve kings of Singhapura ruled. If the palæographical facts mentioned above are alone taken into consideration, the inscription will have to be placed between about 600 and 800 A.D. For the earliest of the dated cognate inscriptions was written in Śrīharshasamvat 48 or 654-55 A.D., and the latest in Śrīharshasamvat 153 or 759-60 A.D. It would, of course, be unsafe to assume that these dates are exactly the beginning and the end of the

³ A not quite correct analysis of the contents of this inscription has been given in Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. II, *Useful Tables*, p. 245, note 2. According to Mr. Fleet's letter in *The Academy* of January 7, 1888, it was also discussed or translated many years ago by Bābu Śivaprāsāda in the *Simla Akbar*, a publication not accessible to me.

⁴ This is the usual way of rendering the Chinese syllables. The latter agree, however, more closely with the form of our inscription, Singhapura, and I believe that this was the one known to Huen Tsiang.

⁵ *Sī-yu-lī*, vol. I, pp. 143-147 (Beal).

period during which the alphabet of our inscription was in use, and it is only reasonable to allow a margin of about fifty years either way. Hiuen Tsiang's remarks concerning the government of Singhapura make it, I think, likely that it was written near the remoter limit of this period. He says (*loc. cit.*, p. 143) that, at the time of his visit, "the country had no king or rulers, but was in dependence on Kāśmīr." As our inscription distinctly asserts that kings of the Yādu race ruled the realm of Singhapura since the beginning of the Yuga and enumerates those of eleven generations by name, its date probably falls before the Kāśmīrian conquest. For even if we assumed, though there is no foundation for such an assumption, that Singhapura again became free shortly after Hiuen Tsiang's visit in 631 A.D., and if we assigned the inscription to the remotest limit, the end of the eighth century, its contents would clash with Hiuen Tsiang's statement. For the eleven generations of kings enumerated we require at least 275 years, which we can in no way get, if we suppose the inscription to have been written after Hiuen Tsiang's visit and after the hypothetical liberation of Singhapura from the Kāśmīrian yoke, say between 650 and 1700 A.D. If we assume that it was incised before those two events, say about 600, the assertion that the Yādavas ruled Singhapura since the beginning of the Yuga, *i. e.*, since time immemorial, and that eleven princes ruled it in a direct line of succession, offers no difficulties. The accession of Senavarman will thus have to be placed in the beginning of the fourth century A.D.

In conclusion I may add that this inscription very forcibly inculcates the necessity of our abstaining from identifying every Chandragupta who may turn up in literary or epigraphic documents with the Maurya or the Gupta king of that name.

TRANSCRIPT.

Line 1. श्री^०

सर्वस्थितिलयहेतोर्विश्वस्य [ब्रह्म]विष्णुशुद्धाणां ।

मूर्तिर्चयं प्रदधते ससारमिदं नमो विभवे ॥ [१]

यदुवड्शमुवां रात्रां सैत्तपुर राज्यमा युगाद्धताम् ।

L. 2 श्रीसेनवर्मानामा राजर्षिं प्रक्रमेणासीत् ॥ [२]

तनयस्तस्य श्रीमानृपतिरभूदार्थवर्मानाच्चैव ।

आर्यव्रततां प्रथमं स्थापितवाड्स्तदनु यचरितैः ॥ [३]

श्री[दत्त]वर्मा^०

L. 3. नामा दत्ताभयविभवविजयविष्णु[द]सः [१]

भीतार्थिकुलारिभ्यो वभूव तस्यात्मजो नृपतिः ॥ [४]

सत्तुरभूतस्य महान्भूपालश्च श्रीप्रदीप्तवर्चसि ।

दर्पान्धशत्रुपुतना -

L. 4. पतङ्गपटलीप्रदीप्ताग्निः ॥ [५]

श्रीश्वरवर्चसि सुतस्तस्याभूदभूपतिः प्रदानेन ।

ऐश्वर्यं यं कृतवान्भव इव निचये [भवा]र्थाणां ॥ [६]

श्रीवृद्धिवर्चसंस्तस्य वभूवात्मजः

^० L. 1. Read श्री. —The word *brahma* is indistinct^१ Metre of verses 1-22, Āryā^२ L. 2 The syllable द in श्री [दत्त]वर्मे is faintly visible. The restoration is certain, on account of the word दत्ताभय in line 3^३ L. 4. Read व्रतवान् —The first two syllables of भवा[र्थाणां] are indistinct

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

[illegible]

10

10

- L 5 प्रवृद्धश्रीः ।
चन्द्र इव तापहारी नयनाना नन्दनो राजा ॥ [७]
स्वभुजार्जितशौर्ययशा दानवतामुपरि दृष्टसामर्थ्यः [१]
श्रीसिद्धवर्मनामा तत्तनयो राजसिद्धोभूत् ॥ [८]
- L 6. तस्य सुतोभूदाशापूरणकर्मा जनस्य तापच्छित् ।
श्रीजलनामा नृपतिः कलियुगदावाग्निजलवर्षः ॥ [९]
श्रीयज्ञवर्मनामा तदङ्गजीभून्महीपतिर्येन ।
यज्ञान्य -
- L 7. धूमजलदैर्नित्योत्केका × कृताश् शिखिनः ॥ [१०]¹⁰
पुत्रस्तस्य वभूव श्रीमान् राजर्षिरचलवर्मन्ति ।
कृतयुगचरितेष्वचलो यश्च स्वैर्यादिगुणसाम्यात् ॥ [११]
यस्सम -
- L 8 रघुहृलाख्यामन्वर्त्यवतीन्दधार रणरौद्रः [१]
अपरामगणितसङ्गरकरिरदनाग्राद्धितोरस्कः ॥ [१२]
तस्य दिवाकरवर्मा श्रीमान्स्तनयो वभूव नृपतीशः [१]
यस्य दिवाकरता -
- L 9 भूत्परतेजोभिभवधर्मेण ॥ [१३]
वारणविषाणसङ्घटसङ्गरचलचारिणश्च्युता यस्य ।
अकरोदरीनशस्त्रान्मपदि महीघङ्गलभटाख्या ॥ [१४]
तस्य कनीयान्धाता
- L 10 श्रीभास्कर इत्यभून्नृपतिपालः ।
रिपुघङ्गलाभिधान योवहदाजौ विजयमन्त्र ॥ [१५]
स्वभुजार्जितपरराज्यद्रविणसदादानकर्मणः पाणेः [१]
यस्यासीद्विश्रामो नत -
- L 11. रिपुपृष्ठक्षणस्थितिषु ॥ [१६]
येनाभिरुह्य पङ्ग्रास्यतस्त्रिगमग्रानि शैलदुर्गाणि ।
आक्कमग्र युहशौण्डा हस्तिकर दापिताः चितिपाः ॥ [१७]
तस्य गुणार्जितदेवीशब्दा श्रीकपिलवर्द्धन -
- L 12. सुताभूत् ।
राज्ञी प्राणेशा श्रीजयावलीत्येकपत्नी च ॥ [१८]
तस्यास्तनया साध्वी सावित्रीवश्वरेति नाम्नासीत् ।
जालन्धरनृपसूनुर्जाया श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य ॥ [१९]
भर्त्तरि गतवति नाक करि -
- L 13 शस्त्रान्धाङ्गवास्यदमिदं सा ।¹¹
तत्पुण्यायाकारयदार्चायानुगतसत्येन ॥ [२०]

¹⁰ L 7 Read कृताश्-¹¹ L 13 Read करिण स्वस्थ।

यावन्महीमहीधरजलनिधयो यावदिन्द्रवितागः ।
तावदिदमस्तु कीर्त्तिस्थानं श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य ॥ [२१]
भट्टचेम -

L 11 शिवात्मजभट्टस्कन्दादवासगुभजन्मा ।
भट्टवसुदेव ण्ताम्रशस्त्रिमकरोदयो[धे]शः ॥ [२२]¹²
अश्वनीश्वरणागेन नागदत्तस्य सुतुना ।
उत्कीर्णा सुत्रधारिण रौहीतकनिवासिना ॥ छ ॥ [२३]¹³

TRANSLATION.

Om

1. Obeisance to the supreme Lord,¹¹ who destroys the circle of births and assumes the three forms of Brahman, Vishnu, and Rudra for the sake of the creation, continuance, and dissolution of the universe¹

2 Among the kings, sprung from the race of Yadu, who govern the kingdom of Singhiapura since (*the beginning of*) the (*Kali*) Yuga, arose in the course (*of time*) a royal sage, named the illustrious Senavai man

3 His son was an illustrious king with the name Āryavarman, who first after him (*his father*) proclaimed by his deeds the fact that he kept the vow of an Ārya

4. The king, named the illustrious Dattavarman, who secured safety, riches, victory, and destruction (*respectively*) to the fearful, to beggars, to his race and to his enemies, was his son.

5 His son was a great protector of the earth, called the illustrious Pradipta-varman, a blazing fire for (*that*) multitude of moths, the armies of his foes, who were blinded by pride

6 His son, called the illustrious Īśvāriavarman, became king through his great liberality, he who ruled, like Bhava, over a multitude of objects of existence (*bhava*).

7. His son was he who was denominated the illustrious Vṛiddhivarman a king whose good fortune was much increased, who, like the moon, removed torments¹⁵ and gladdened the eyes (*of men*)

8 His son was the illustrious Singhiavai man, a lion-like king who earned by (*the strength of*) his arms a reputation for bravery and whose power was seen (*to be*) above (*that of*) those having *dāna* (*i.e.*, of merely liberal not heroic princes and of rutting elephants)¹⁶

9 His son was he who is named the illustrious Jala, a prince whose peculiar action was the filling of the regions (*with his fame*), who removed the torments of his people, and who rained water (*as it were*) for (*quenching*) the forest-fire of the Kaliyuga¹⁷

10 His son was the king named the illustrious Yajñavarman, by whom the peacocks were ever made to cry aloud on account of the smoke-clouds (*arising*) from the sacrificial butter.

¹¹ L 14 छे in दयिच्छेय is not quite distinct

¹² Metro of verso 23 Anuṣṭubh

¹³ The deity meant is Śiva

The moon removes the torments of the heat of the day, and the king those inflicted by wicked men

¹⁶ Hero we have the time honoured pun on *dāna* 'liberality' and 'the anchor of the rutting elephant'

¹⁷ *i.e.*, who by his virtues counteracted the wickedness of the Kali yuga, which on account of its destructiveness may be compared to a forest-fire The other epithets, too, have a double sense, one applicable to water, *jala*, and the other to the king called *Jala*

11 His son was the illustrious royal sage called Achalavarman, who was constant in (*following*) the holy practices of the Kṛitayuga, because (*his*) virtues, firmness, and so forth, (*were*) the same (*as those prevailing in the golden age*),

12 Who bore the second name Samāghaṅghala,¹⁹ suitable (*for him*) on account of its meaning, (*because he was*) terrible in battle and his chest had been marked in countless fights by the points of elephants' tusks

13 His son was the illustrious lord of kings, Divākaiavaiman, whose sun-like nature (*divākara-lā*) was shown by a characteristic (*of his*), the humbling of his enemies' ¹⁹ fiery courage (*paratejodbhava*), just as the sun causes to pale all other lights (*paratejodbhava*),

14 Whose famed appellation 'the Mahighaṅghala' warrior made his foes weaponless, when he nimbly strode over the battle(-field) that was impassable on account of the elephants' tusks

15 His younger brother was the protector of kings, called the illustrious Bhāskara, who (*also*) bore the name Ripuḡhaṅghala, a chain ensuing victory in battle,

16 Whose hand that was constantly occupied in giving away the wealth of hostile kingdoms won by (*the strength of*) his arms, (*found*) repose by resting for a moment on the backs of bending foes,

17 By whom, scaling on foot mountain-fortresses, accessible (*only*) to birds, kings expert in fighting were attacked and made to pay a tribute of elephants

18 His queen, mistress of his life and his sole consort, was the illustrious Jayāvalī, the daughter of the illustrious Kapilavardhana, (*a lady*) who won the title of queen (*devī*) through her virtues

19 Her daughter was (*a lady*) faithful like Sāvitrī,⁵ Īśvarā by name, the wife of the illustrious Chandragupta, son of the king of Jālandhara.

20 When her husband had ascended to heaven from the shoulder of his elephant,²⁰ she caused to be built for his spiritual merit this temple of Bhava in consequence of a vow which was (*made*) in accordance with (*the instructions of*) her spiritual teacher.

21 As long as the mountains, the oceans, the moon, the sun and the stars exist, so long may this location of the fame of illustrious Chandragupta endure ²¹

22 Bhatta Vasudeva, the lord of Ayodhyā,²² who owed his happy birth to Bhatta Skanda, the son of Bhatta Kshemaśiva, composed this panegyric

23 By the mason Īśvaranāga, an inhabitant of Rauhītaka²³ (*and*) son of Nāgaḍatta, has it been incised in the stone

¹⁹ I am unable to find in the *Kośas* and dictionaries accessible to me the word *ghaṅghala*, which occurs here and below in verses 14 and 15. A comparison of the three compounds, *samāghaṅghala*, *mahighaṅghala*, and *ripuḡhaṅghala*, makes it probable that its meaning is 'the conqueror' very likely it is a Deśī word, allied to *ghaṅghola*

²⁰ Of course the heroine of the *Sāvitrīyupākhyāna*, *Mahābhārata*, III, 293-299, is meant

²¹ This may either mean that he fell from his elephant and broke his neck, or merely that he exchanged his princely pomp for a residence in heaven

²² In case *kīrtisthānam* might be taken as a synonym of *kīrtanam*, 'temple' (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, pp. 228-229), the latter portion of the verse might be translated, "so long may this temple (*sacred to the memory*) of the illustrious Chandragupta endure"

²³ *Ayodhyeśaḥ*, 'the lord of Ayodhyā,' means, I suppose, only that Vasudeva was the owner of some village called Ayodhyā

²⁴ Rauhītaka is the name of a town and district in Northern India, as may be gathered from *Rājataranginī*, IV, 11-12. It probably corresponds, as Dr Burgess suggests to me, to the modern town or district of Rohtak, or its homonymous capital, 43 miles north east of Delhi

III —ĀŚOKA'S TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT ACCORDING TO THE SHĀHBĀZGARHĪ VERSION,

BY G. BULLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E

The subjoined edition of the lately discovered twelfth edict of the Shāhbāzgarhī series is based on (1) a heliotype facsimile taken from an impression; (2) a slightly mutilated paper impression taken by Captain Deane, Assistant Commissioner of Yusufzai, and (3) a direct photograph of the right half of the inscription, taken from the rock.

The inscription is incised in 9½ unequal lines on a granitic boulder, and is about 2 feet 6 inches broad and 9 feet 8 inches long. The rock appears to be full of large and small fissures, exfoliations, and holes. Some of these seem to have existed before the inscription was engraved, as the mason has avoided them in cutting the letters. Thus the last two syllables of the word *dhramamahamatra* in l. 9, stand more than an inch apart from the preceding ones, and the impression clearly shows the traces of flaws in the intervening portion of the stone. But in most cases the fissures and holes are of later origin and have destroyed smaller or larger portions of the letters. This circumstance makes a certain proportion of the vowel signs, *anusvāras* and subscribed *ra-kāras* doubtful. In a very few cases the consonants too are not clearly distinguishable.

The alphabet of the inscription is the so-called Baktro-Pālī or North-Indian, which according to Sir A. Cunningham was current in Indian Kābul and in the Panjāb from the beginning of the historical period to the third century A.D. The letters are mostly 1½ to 2 inches high. Owing to the want of perfectly readable impressions and trustworthy facsimiles of the inscriptions in this character, and specially of the edicts of Āśoka, a good many minor details in the reading of these characters have still to be settled. Though this is not the place for the discussion of all the doubtful or disputed points, I must refer to a few of them in explanation of my transcript.

1. I have in general adopted the new interpretations of some signs, *e g*, of \dagger and \neg which Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indrājī and Dr. Hoernle have given in their articles on the first rock-edict of the Shāhbāzgarhī version, and of the Suibihārā inscription, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. X, pp. 105 & 324, and vol. XI, p. 128.

2. I am however not able to agree as yet with Dr. Bhagvānlāl's remark in the last article, that the short line slanting upwards, which is sometimes found on the left side of the lower end of consonants and *a*, denotes the long *ā*. In our edict it occurs distinctly in the first sign of *bahuvīdha*, l. 2, where the reading *bāhuvīdha* is impossible. It is further found in the *va* of *devanam*, l. 1, where the reading *devānam* is required. In a third word, *ataprashadavadhi*, l. 8, it perhaps occurs in the initial letter, and the reading *āta* is possible. But I do not dare to put these two lengths in the transcript, as none of the numerous other letters after which *ā* must have been read, such as *da* in **prash-amlam*, *tha* in *grahatham*, show a similar contrivance. Moreover, neither Dr. Bhagvānlāl's facsimile of the rock-edict nor the photograph of the Shāhbāzgarhī version which I owe to the kindness of Sir A. Cunningham, nor the facsimile and photograph of the Mānsahra version, which I have likewise received from him, confirm the assertion that the distinction between *a* and *ā* is clearly marked in the Āśoka inscriptions. Hence I have noticed these slight peculiarities of the letters merely in the notes to the transcript.

5
8
1
0
10
f
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ha]n
4 v

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ch(a)

pra]-
(chu)

dhetu

kandha

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is right

3. With respect to the spelling I have scrupulously adhered to the position of the letters in the original I transliterate *priyadrasī*, *dharmo*, *savva*, though I have not the slightest doubt that the words were pronounced in the Panjāb, as elsewhere, *priyadarśi*, *dharmo*, and *sarva* To everybody who is acquainted with manuscripts of works in the modern Prākṛits of India, or who has had to do with official correspondence in these Prākṛits, the carelessness which the old inscriptions show with respect to the position of the letter *ra* will be nothing new or wonderful A Hindu who is neither a Pandit nor a pupil of the Government schools, will write for *sovarna*, *souvan* or *srovan*, for *sarva* sometimes *srava* and sometimes *savva*, just as his fancy may direct.¹ As long as the *ra* appears in the word, he is quite contented He, of course, pronounces invariably *dhar'm*, *sar'o*, *sovar'n*, and so forth There is, I think, no reason to suppose that Aśoka's Rajukas were better scholars than the Karkuns of the British Government offices before the introduction of the European system of education, and I therefore believe that the abnormalities in their spelling may be attributed to the same causes which operated in the case of the modern office writers Still, in a transcript, it is as well to render the peculiarities of the text as accurately as possible.

TRANSCRIPT.

L 1—De(va)nam (p)riyo (P)riyadrasī raya² savraprashamdani graha[tha]ni cha puje(tu) danena vīdihaye cha pujay(e) [] N[o]³ chu (tatha) [da]na[m]⁴ va puja va

L. 2—devanam⁵ priyo m(a)ñati yatha kiti [P] sa(la)vadhi siy(a) savraprashamdana[m]⁶ [] Salavadhi tu bahuvīdha⁷ [.] Tasa tu iyo mula ya(m)⁸ vach(a) guti [.]

L 3—kiti [P] ataprashamdapuja (va) pa[rapa]sha[m]dagarana⁹ va no s(i)ya [apra]-karanasi¹⁰ [.] lahuka va siya ta(si ta)si prakara[n]e¹¹ [] Puje[ta]v[a]¹² [e]va¹³ (chu) parapi(a)sham)(.)

L 4—[da tena tena prakaranena [.] Ev]am¹⁴ karamtam [ata]prashamdā vadheta

¹ See e.g. Mr. Narmadāshankar's remarks on this point in the preface to his edition of Premānand's *Dāśamskandha* of the *Bhāgavatapurāna*, p. 81C

The sign () used in the transcript indicates that the letters are slightly injured, the sign [] that they are very much defaced but just recognisable

² There is a straight line on the right side of the lower end of *ra* and a slanting one on the right of *ya*, faintly visible on the facsimile I believe that both are accidental

³ The vowel *o* is very faint on the facsimile, but plain, though shallow, on the impression

⁴ The *anuvāra* is doubtful

⁵ The *ra* of *devanam* shows a short upward stroke at the lower end of *va* The little semicircle on the right of *ma* which on the facsimile is connected with the letter, appears detached from it on the impression

⁶ The last *anuvāra* is doubtful

⁷ A short line, slanting upwards, is attached to the lower end of *ba*.

⁸ Only one half of the *anuvāra* is visible on the impression to the right of *ya* The other, which was attached to the left limb, has disappeared in a great rent

⁹ The *anuvāra* is doubtful *Garana* is probably a mistake for *garaka* The *ra* of this word shows below on the right horizontal line, which I believe to be accidental

¹⁰ *Pra* is tolerably plain on the impression

¹¹ *Na* is better recognisable on the impression

¹² The vertical line above *va* seems to be accidental, just as that below

¹³ On the facsimile the first letter looks like *ya* with a wrongly placed *o* stroke According to the impression *eva* is probable

¹⁴ The first twelve letters are with difficulty recognisable Only the last two are almost entirely gone

paraprashamdasa¹⁶ pi cha upakaroti [] Ta(da) añatha ka[rata]¹⁶ [cha]¹⁷ a(ta)pra-
[shamdām]

L. 5—chhanati parap(ra)shadasa¹⁸ cha apakaroti [] Yo hi kochi¹⁹ ataprash(a)dam
pujēti (para)p(ra)sh(a)d(a)²⁰ [ga]rahati savr(a)²¹ ataprashadabhiatīyeva²² kiti [?]

L. 6—(a)taprashamdām dipaya(m) ti [,] so cha puna tatha karamtam so cha puna
tatha kar(amtam)²³ ba(dha)tara(m)²⁴ upahamti atapra(sha)dam [,] So sayamo vo²⁵
s(a)dhu [,] kiti [?] añam(a)ñasa dhramo²⁶

L. 7—ś(r)uneyu²⁷ cha su(ś)rus(c)yu²⁸ cha ti [] Evam (h) d(c)vanam piyasa icchi
[,] kiti [?] savraprashamda bahusruta cha kala[na]gama²⁹ cha siy(a)su () Ye cha tatra
tatra³⁰

L. 8—prasana tesham³¹ vatavo³² [] de(va)nam³³ pri[yo] n(a tatha da)nam va (pu)ja
va m(a)ñati ya(ta) kiti [?] salavadhi siya ti savraprashadanam bahuka cha[,] Etaye
a * * ³⁴

L. 9—vapata [dhra]mamahamatra³⁵ (1) * * yachhama(hama)tra³⁶ v(a)chabhumika
añe cha nikay(a)³⁷ [,] Ima(m)³⁸ cha otisa (pha)lam yam ataprashadavadhi³⁹

L. 10—dhrama(sa) cha dipana⁴⁰ [,]

IN DEVANĀGARĪ.

1. देवनं प्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय सव्रप्रपंडनि अहठनि च पुजेति दनेन विविधये च पुजये । नो शु तव दनं
व पुज व

2. देवनं प्रियो मज्जति यय किति । सलवटि सिय सव्रप्रपंडन । सलवटि तु वहुविध । तस तु रयो
सुल यं वचगुति ।

¹⁵ The *ra* of *para* shows a small slanting line attached below to the right of the letter. The apparent anusvara under *da* is shown by the impression to be an accidental scratch.

¹⁶ The last sign of *karata* is almost entirely gone. The reading may have been *karamtam*.

¹⁷ The letter is very doubtful. One would expect *cha* or *tu*. In the following word the two *anusvāras* are doubtful.

¹⁸ Possibly **pashadasa*.

¹⁹ The *o* of *kochi* is visible on the reverse of the impression.

²⁰ Possibly **pashamdām*.

²¹ Possibly *savrē*.

²² The *e* stroke to the left of *ya*, where its proper position is, seems a little abnormal, and may be an accidental scratch.

²³ The participial phrase has been repeated by mistake. The first anusvara of the second *karamtam* is doubtful.

²⁴ The *anusvāra* seems certain from the impression.

²⁵ This seems plain on the impression, but is a mistake for *va*. It looks as if a *ra* stroke were attached to *sa* of *sadhu*.

²⁶ *Dhram* is perfectly distinct on the impression.

²⁷ This might be read also *śrūṇiyu*. But there are some other cases where a diagonal stroke passes through the inside of the semicircle at the top of *na*.

²⁸ The top line of *ru* is not distinct owing to a large fissure.

²⁹ As the top of *na* has been destroyed, it may have been dental.

³⁰ The last three syllables are not visible on the impression.

³¹ The *anusvāra* is distinct on the impression.

³² The final vowel is distinct on the impression.

³³ *Va* looks on the facsimile like *vya*. The impression shows that the lower lines are scratches.

³⁴ Read *athaye*. The last three letters on the facsimile are not visible on the impression.

³⁵ *Dhram* is mutilated. *Ha* is perfectly distinct on the photograph, *tra* on the same and on the impression.

³⁶ Probably *śhishyachha* to be restored.

³⁷ The apparent *e* stroke to the left of *ya* is, I think, an accidental scratch.

³⁸ Possibly *śmo*.

³⁹ A line slanting upwards seems to be attached to the left of the lower end of the initial *a*. But it may be due to a fissure, the prolongation of which is plain on the impression.

⁴⁰ This line is not on the impression.

3 किति । अतप्रपंडपुज व परप्रपंडगरन व नो सिय अपकरणसि लङ्क व सिय तसि तसि प्रकरणे । पुजितव एव च परप्रपंड -

4 ड तेन तेन प्रकरणेन । एवं करतं अतप्रपंडं वढेति परप्रपंडस पि च उपकरोति । तद अजय करत च अतप्रपंड

5 ण्णति परप्रपंडस च अपकरोति । यो हि कोचि अतप्रपंडं पुजिति परप्रपंड गरहति सन्न अतप्रपंडभतियेव । किति ।

6 अतप्रपंडं टिपयमि ति । सो च पुन तय करतं सो च पुन तय करतं वढतर उपहंति अतप्रपंडं । सो सयमो वो सधु । किति । अजमवस भ्रमो

7 सुणेषु च सुयुपेषु च ति । एवं हि देवनं प्रियस इह । किति । सन्नप्रपंडं वड्डुत्त च कलणगम च सियसु । ये च तत्र तत्र

8 प्रसन तेप वतवो । देवन प्रियो न तय दनं व पुज व मज्जति यय किति । सलवढि सिय ति सन्नप्रपंडन वड्डुक च । एतये अ --

9. वपट भ्रममहमत्त इ -- यद्धमहमत्त वचभुमिक अजे च निकय । इमं च एतिस फलं यं अतप्रपंडवढि

10. भ्रमस च दिपना ॥

TRANSLATION.

The Beloved of the gods, king Priyadrasī, honours men of all creeds⁴¹ both [*ascetics*] and householders,⁴² by (*showing them*) liberality and by honouring them in various ways But the Beloved of the gods thinks not so (*much*) of liberality and honour—as of what?—that an increase of essentials⁴³ may take place among men of all creeds. But the increase of essentials (*may happen*) in various ways But this is its root, *viz*, guarding one's speech—how so?—“honouring one's own creed and blaming other creeds shall not be in unimportant points, or, it shall be moderate with respect to this or that important point? But other creeds must even be honoured for this or that important point Acting thus, one exalts one's own creed and benefits also the other creeds. Acting differently, one hurts one's own creed and injures the other creeds. For he who honours his own creed and blames all other creeds out of reverence for his own creed—how so?—(*thinking*) “I promote (*thereby the interests of*) my own

⁴¹ The forms *prashada* and *prashāda*, which appear both here and in edicts VII and XII of the unpublished Mānsabrah version instead of the *pāśhāda*, *pāśhamāda*, *pāsada*, or *pāsāda* of the Girnar, Kalsi, Jangada, and Dhauh inscriptions, fully confirm Professor Kern's conjecture, who derives them from the Sanskrit *pārshada*, 'a member of a (religious) assembly or school For as *ra* may be taken as equivalent to *ar*, *prashada* may stand for *parshada*, and this form differs from the Sanskrit original only by the shortening of the first *a* and by the lingualisation of the final *da*, both of which changes are required or sanctioned by the phonetic laws of the Prākṛit dialects My rendering of the word by 'adherent of a creed, or creed' is based on the assumption that in Aśoka's times it was free from the *mala nota* which adheres to it later Its import, I think, corresponded exactly to the English term 'denomination' and the German 'Glaubensgenossenschaft' Owing to its ponderous length 'denomination' is not fit to be used in the translation of a document where *prashada* recurs more than a dozen times

⁴² I insert the word '*ascetics*' according to the Kalsi version, where the text offers *pāśhamādaṃ pavajitāni gahathāni vā* The Girnar version has *pavajitāni* too, but places before it a superfluous *cha* For it reads *savapāśhamādaṃ cha pravajitāni cha gahathāni chā* The constitution of the Indian religious communities was in Aśoka's times, as the correct reading of this and several other passages shows, throughout the same as in the present day The heads were ascetics or monks who taught, and in return were supported by, a number of laymen, here and elsewhere called 'the householders.'

⁴³ 'The essentials' are, of course, self-restraint and the purification of one's disposition, *sayama* and *bhāvasuddhi*, as the seventh edict says

creed"—he, however, acting thus injures his own creed exceedingly. Hence self-restraint alone⁴⁴ (is) commendable—how so? "They shall hear each other's law and love to hear it."⁴⁵ For this is the desire of the Beloved of the gods—what?—"that men of all creeds shall have heard much and possess holy doctrines." And to those⁴⁶ who adhere to this or that (*faith*) it must be said⁴⁷ The Beloved of the gods thinks not so (*much*) of liberality and honour as of what?—that an increase of essentials "may take place among men of all creeds, and a large one." For this end are working the superintendents of the law, the superintendents of women, the *vachabhumikas*⁴⁸ and other bodies (*of officials*) And this is its result (*viz*) the exaltation of one's own creed and the promotion (*of the interests*) of the law.⁴⁹

IV.—AN INSCRIPTION FROM DABHOI.

By G. BÜHLER, Ph D., LL D., C I E.

On a large stone slab, 3' broad and 2' 10" long, which is fixed in the inner side-wall of the Hira Bhāgola gate at Dabhoi or Darbhavati, are found the remnants of a very large metrical Sanskrit inscription, originally consisting of 59 lines of neatly-incised Nāgarī characters which closely resemble those of the ancient Jaina palm-leaf MSS. The lower portion of the stone is broken in several places. The breaks have destroyed lines 44–46, and have more or less seriously injured the centre portions of lines 47–59. Nevertheless the lower portion, especially lines 52–59, is in a better condition than the upper one, which has suffered from the effects of the weather or from rough treatment to such an extent that nowhere is an entire line readable. On the right hand, pieces containing from 20 to 35 letters have been almost entirely obliterated in each of the first 52 lines. The first five or six letters on the left are likewise gone nearly everywhere, and in the centre portions of lines 16–40 not much more can be made out with certainty than single words and letters here and there. Under these circumstances it would be a waste of time and paper to transcribe all the small fragments. I shall confine myself to a description of the contents of the document and to giving transcripts of those pieces where at least a whole *pāda* of a verse is readable. The materials on which I work, a photograph and a paper impression, have been furnished to me by Dr. J. Burgess.

⁴⁴ I translate in accordance with the emendation proposed in the notes to the transcript, *so sayamo va sadhu*, as *vo* 'for you' gives no good sense, and the Kāśī version has distinctly *samāvāye va*, i.e. *samāvāya eva*. The *varia lectio* *samāvāye* 'concord, harmony,' found also in the Girnār inscription, is better than *sayamo*.

⁴⁵ *Sutruseyu*, 'they shall love to hear it,' may possibly mean 'they shall obey' (*it, as far as it is worthy to be obeyed*). For both in Sanskrit and in the Prakrits the desiderative *śuśrūṣ* has almost lost its etymological meaning. In Aśoka's inscriptions, too, it is regularly used in the sense of 'to obey.' The nominative *dhramo* stands for *dhramam*, as it is governed by the two verbs *śrūṇy* and *sutruseyu*. The same interchange of the two cases occurs, as is well known, regularly in the modern Prakrits, and occasionally in the Vedic dialects.

⁴⁶ The various reading *teṣāṃ* confirms the explanation of the corresponding *tehi*, as a dative plural, which I have proposed in the notes to my German translation, *Zeitschrift der Deutsch Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XXXVIII, 586.

⁴⁷ If *vataro* is not simply a clerical mistake for *vataca*, it must be considered as an instance of the utter loss of feeling for the distinction between the genders. The readings of Girnār and Kāśī, *vatayam* and *vataṇye*, show that it represents the Sanskrit *vātavyam*.

⁴⁸ I leave the word untranslated, as I do not believe that the *vachobhūmikāḥ*, the inspectors of the latrines, can be meant, and as I am unable to find any other explanation.

⁴⁹ The law to which Aśoka refers here is the body of those moral doctrines which he has fully particularised in the third rock-edict, and constantly inculcates as the one needful thing.

The inscription belongs to the class of the *Praśasti* or panegyrics, a large number of which have come to light during recent years. As has already been pointed out by Professor V. A. Kāthvāte,¹ it is the composition of Someśvara-deva, the well-known Purohita of the Rānakas of Dholkā, who wrote the *Kīrtikaumudī* in honour of his spiritual client and master Viradhavala and of his friend the famous Jaina minister Vastupāla. The *Praśasti* is dated (l. 59) Vikrama Samvat 1811 Jyeshtha Śudi 15, Vudhadine, or May 14, 1253,² and belongs therefore to a time when Viradhavala and Vastupāla had passed away.³ On the throne of the former sat his second son Viśaladeva, who in Vikrama Samvat 1800 or 1802 extended his sway over the whole of Gujarāt.⁴ As might be expected, it is the latter to whom Someśvara devotes the greater portion of his poem. Viradhavala and his ancestors occupy a secondary place, and Vastupāla is, it would seem, not even mentioned. The immediate cause which led to the composition of the *Praśasti*, was the building or restoration of a temple of Śiva-Vaidyanātha at Dabhoi-Darbhavati, ordered by Viśaladeva.

Turning to the details, it would seem that the first three verses contained a *mangala* or invocation addressed to Śiva-Vaidyanātha. A fragment of verse 2 says, "May glorious Vaidyanātha himself with his eight bodies grant their desires to the creatures." In verse 4 the description of Viśaladeva's ancestors begins; for the end of *pāda* 2 and *pādas* 3-4 speak of "the line of the progeny of that (*man*), the good deeds of which (*line*) . . . (*cannot be described*)—even by eloquent men." As the name of the first ancestor is lost, and verse 5, too, is gone entirely, full certainty as to the point at which the genealogy begins is not obtainable. But verse 6 makes it probable that it included the name of the first Chaulukya of Gujarāt. For the fragments of verse 6 point clearly to its identity with *Kīrtikaumudī*, II, 2—"Won over by the eminent qualities of this conqueror of his foes, the guardian goddess (Śrī) of the Gūrjara princes became of her own choice his bride, just as (the goddess Śrī became the bride) of (Viśnu), the foe of Bāṇa (at the churning of the ocean)." In the *Kīrtikaumudī* these lines refer to Mūlarāja, the founder of the Chaulukya dynasty of Aṇhilvād. I do not believe that they can refer here to anybody else. For if they had been applied to Dhavala, the first member of the Vyāghrapalliya or Vāghelā branch of the Chaulukyas, known to us, Someśvara would be guilty of uttering a deliberate falsehood. Dhavala was according to all accounts not even a minor chief of any consequence. The next verse 7 begins with the word *yasmin* and hence refers likewise to Mūlarāja. Its sense seems to be that the wives of his enemies tremble or fly into the jungles, "when he, an embodied stream of the sentiment of heroism, stands on the back of . . . with the intention of fighting." In the lost verse 8 the poet seems to have turned to the Vāghelās and, just as in the *Kīrtikaumudī*, to have begun with Arjorāja. This is evident from verse 9, "By whom, even the son of Dhavala, an imitator of Kṛishna, this realm of famous Gūrjara land was made free from thorns." Here we have a new version of *Kīrtikaumudī*.

¹ *Kīrtikaumudī*, pp viii-x Professor Kāthvāte has also correctly transcribed the passage containing the date, and has recognised that the Dabhoi *Praśasti* contains several verses from the *Kīrtikaumudī* and one from the *Praśasti* in Tejapāla's temple at Abu.

² This is according to Dr Schram's calculation, who informs me that in V. S. 1811 (current), corresponding to 1253, the full moon of Jyeshtha fell on May 14th, 10 P. M., a Wednesday, in V. S. 1811 elapsed, or 1254 A.D., on June 2nd, 10 P. M., a Tuesday.

³ *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, p. 190

⁴ *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, p. 190; and Bhāṇḍārkar, *Report* for 1883-84, p. 12.

mudī, II, 68, "By that good warrior who imitated Kṛṣṇa, even by the son of Dhavala, was begun the clearance of the kingdom from thorns." The fragment of verse 10 informs us further that Arjorāja "slew on the battle-field Rāpasimha who resembled Rāvana"—a deed which is not mentioned elsewhere. Verse 11 finally confirms the statement of *Kīrtikaumudī*, II, 66, according to which he himself met his death in battle. It says, "Now when his son valiant Lavanaprasāda [*was able to sustain*] the load of Gūrjara land, he (Arjorāja) offered, his heart being averse to the world, a battle-sacrifice at which he gave his life as fee."

Next follows the eulogy of Lavanaprasāda, verses 12-24, which besides known events contains some new historical facts. Verse 12 declares that owing to some deeds of his, the particulars of which are lost, "the kingdom of the Gūrjaras was even greater than that of Rāma." Verse 13 mentions a fight near Vardhamāna, the modern town of Vadhvān in north-eastern Kāthiāvād, with some unnamed powerful foes, regarding which the chronicles are silent. Verse 14—"By whom the chief of Nādūla was deeply wounded with his mighty sword; owing to this (*severe stroke*), yon kings quake even to-day, just as the mountains at a thunder-clap"—is identical with *Kīrtikaumudī*, II, 69, and reiterates the defeat of the Thākur of Nāndol in southern Mārāvād. Verses 15-17 refer to a victory over a Muhammadan king, whose name is not given.

15. How many godlike kings are there not on earth? But even all of them became troubled by the mere mention of the king of the Turushkas. When that (*Turushka king*), excessively angry, approached in order to fight, [*it was Lavanaprasāda*] who placed only

16. By whom (*Lavanaprasāda*), the king of the Turushkas who had spattered the earth with the blood flowing from the cut-off heads of numerous kings—when he came in front, with dry lips, full of doubt,—was conquered at Stambha with his arm (*strong*) like a post (*stambha*) and terrible through the sword."

17. If he (*Lavanaprasāda*) is a mortal, how is it that he conquered the lord of the Mlechchhas?"

This encounter of Lavanaprasāda with a king of the Turushkas causes a difficulty, especially because Stambha⁶ is named as the place where it happened. In Lavanaprasāda's time fall three attacks of the Muhammadans on Gujarāt: (1) the unsuccessful expedition of Shāhabu'd-dīn Ghori in 1178 A.D.; (2) the first expedition of Qutbu'd-dīn in 1194 A.D., during which Anhilvād was sacked; (3) the second expedition of Qutbu'd-dīn in 1196, which was at first unsuccessful, but finally led to the temporary conquest of Gujarāt and to the temporary occupation of Anhilvād by a Muhammadan garrison.⁶ It is very probable that he fought against the invaders on all three occasions. But I do not think that any of the engagements which then took

⁶ The square brackets between which the syllable *Stamb* has been placed in the transcript merely indicate that it is badly damaged. In my opinion it is not really doubtful. A portion of the left limb of *St*, the ends of the vertical strokes of *ta* and the *anusvāra* are distinguishable.

⁶ K Forbes, *Eds Māld* (second edition), pp 160, 180 181. Regarding the duration of Lavanaprasāda's career we only know that he was the *Rājyachintākarī* or *major domus* of Bhīma II, who ruled over Gujarāt from Vikrama Samvat 1235 or 1179 A.D., and that he was alive and took part in the war against Siūghana of Devagiri which happened after the appointment of Vastupāla to the post of prime minister in Vikrama Samvat 1276 or 1220 A.D. (*Kīrtikaumudī*, pp. xiv-xv; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, p 188), and ended with a treaty in Vikrama Samvat 1288 (Bhāṇḍārkar, *Early History of the Dekkan*, p 84).

place can be referred to in our passage. Both according to the accounts of the Muhammadans and according to those of the Gujarātī chronicles and bards, the decisive battles were fought in southern Rājputānā. On the other hand Stambha, the scene of the battle mentioned in our inscription, can be, it seems to me, only Stambhapura or Stambhatirtha, the modern Khambhāyat—Cambay,—which lies much further south. For Stambha is the regular abbreviation of these two names, made *bhīmavat*, and no other town has hitherto become known in Gujarāt from the name of which it could be derived. If we have then to look out for some other period during which Lavanaprasāda may have gained his victory, the most probable conjecture seems to me that it happened after the occupation of Anhilvād in 1196. Some time later the Muhammadans did suffer a defeat in Gujarāt and the province shook their yoke off.⁷ The details of these events are not given either by the Muhammadan or the Hindu authors; but our passage probably contains an allusion to them, and it may be that Lavanaprasāda was the liberator of his country.

The fragments of verse 18 inform us that Lavanaprasāda, “a repository of medicine-like valour, cured [*his country* . . .] when the crowd of the princes of Dhārā, of the Dekhan and of Maru, who resembled diseases [*attached it*].”

His success against the kings of Mālvā and of the Dekhan are mentioned also in the *Kīrtikaumudī*, II, 74-75. As I have pointed out in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, page 188, note, the first-mentioned foe is probably Subhatavarman and the second Singhana (1209-10—1247-48 A.D.), whose inscriptions record several expeditions against Gujarāt. The kings of Maru or Mārvād, who are added here, may possibly be the four princes referred to, *Kīrtikaumudī*, IV, 55-65, who attacked Gujarāt at the same time as Singhana's army.

Verse 19 is purely laudatory: “He (Lavanaprasāda) who raises his race, seems to me of greater fame than Yudhishthira, whose relatives were all destroyed, though their power to remove a Salya is equal.”⁸ Verse 20 seems to have been of the same import. Verse 21 refers to the erection of a temple of Kumāra near Vadhvān. “Who (Lavanaprasāda) caused to be erected in the neighbourhood of Vardhamāna, a (*temple of*) Kumāra rivalling the ocean (*in the possession of treasures*) and surpassing the moon (*in brilliancy*).” The sense of the next three verses I am unable to make out from the scanty remnants. With verse 25 begins the praise of Viradhavala. Its complete restoration is easily possible, as it agrees literally with verse 27 of the *Prasasti* in Tejahpāla's temple at Ābu.⁹ “From him sprang a son, who was the image of Daśaratha and Kakutstha (*spelt kakutsha*), who swallowed like a mouthful the armies of hostile kings,—Viradhavala. When the flood of his fame spread, the cleverness of faithless women,—whose minds are distressed with the longing after enjoyments,—in the art of approaching (*their lovers*) was destroyed.”

Of the remaining verses referring to Viradhavala, 26-51, little more than single letters or words are legible, except in verse 45, where an unsuccessful combined attack of the lord of Dhārā and of the ruler of the Dekhan is mentioned. The portion of the *Prasasti* which celebrates Viśaladeva's great deeds and virtues, verses 52-108, is likewise in a very bad condition. The only political events traceable are fights with the kings

⁷ K. Forbes, *Eds. Mdlā*, p. 181.

⁸ In the case of Yudhishthira *Salya* must be taken as the name of the well known hero, in the case of Lavanaprasāda it means simply ‘thorn,’ i.e., foe.

⁹ *Kīrtikaumudī*, App. A, p. 4.

of Málvā and of the Dekhan (L. 29, verse 58 f) which his grant of V.S. 1317 mentions too, and a hitherto unknown expedition on which "Visaladeva kept the hero's vow on the shore of the Sindhu," i.e., either of the ocean or of the Indus (L. 30, verse 59). In verse 77 and in those immediately preceding the manner in which Visaladeva gained the throne of Gujarāt seems to have been described. But the name of the opponent whom he overcame has been lost. All that remains is: 77. "Visala [*made undergo*] the fate of a moth in the fire of his valour."

78. "Then that moon among princes, Visaladeva, after obtaining sway over the world,"

A little further on, with verse 80, begins apparently the account of Visaladeva's building operations. We hear of the erection of one or several temples of Śiva, (verses 81 and 91), of the restoration of a temple of the sun, called Mūlasthāna (verse 92), of another "temple which resembled a peak of the mountain of Hara," i.e., of Kailāsa (verse 93), and that "he who in form resembled Cupid renovated the *prākāra*," i.e., the enclosure, probably of some other temple. Verses 99—108 praise the king's liberality. According to verse 100 he gave annually "a kalpalatā of always increasing value, the cause of the wealth of the Brāhmanas." Verse 102 says that "in his country the sound of the *Vedas*, uttered by untired Brāhmanas who were gladdened by fees given at great sacrifices, [ever] meets one's ears." The other verses are of a more general import. In the concluding portion of the poem, which opens with the words *śaś oha*, Someśvara speaks of the official and architects connected with the building of the temple, of himself, of the writer and the engraver of the *Prāśasti*.

109. In the Prāgvāta race¹⁰ was . . ga, the son of illustrious Ohandasimha, who was appointed by the king on account of his confidence (*in him*) to the post (*of guardian*) of the fort of Vaidyeśitri.

110. What description shall (*I*) give of that minister the flood of whose pure fame filled the earth, erected by whom, the excellent line of ramparts, free from interstices, dived into the abode of the gods."

111. There was a mason, called Śādeva, a store of all good qualities; from him sprang Vāmadeva, famous for having built the temple of the Sun, called Mūlasthāna. As his son was born he who is called Madana, a scion of (*the race of*) Viśvakarman, the builder of the wall of (*glorious*) Vaidyeśa, of the extensive temple, of the gates, of the wings and of the foundations.¹¹

112. The son of Āhlādana, called Devāditya, who (*became*) the firm architect of Vaidyeśitri, is famous in the first rank of masons.

113. Glorious Vaidyanātha, worshipful sole protector of the world, I address a prayer to thee—"May God, through thy favour, that Visaladeva, free from cares caused by foes, and united with his sons, be victorious during ten thousand Kalpas!"

114. The chief domestic priest of the kings, born . . . , who is called Someśvara-deva, made this panegyric, producing the great composition in half a watch of the night

¹⁰ This is the same tribe to which Vastupāla and Tejapāla, the ministers of Viradhavala, belonged. At present it bears the name Porvāl. The Porvāl Vāpās are well known in Northern Gujarāt and in Rājputānā. In an analysis of this inscription prepared from another facsimile by Mr. Cousens, Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indrājī gave the first name as Sāṅga.

¹¹ The last *pāda* of this verse may also be taken very differently, "the builder of the wall of glorious Vaidyeśa, of the gate-posts of the extensive temple and of the foundations." The translation of *dhā* by 'foundations' is purely conjectural. Dr. Bhagvānlāl read the second name here as Rāmadeva.

115. And the excellent Brāhman Prahlādana, the son of Śrīyāmanda (?), born in the *gotra* of famous Nandipura, wrote this panegyric.¹²

116 By skilful Padmasimha, foremost among masons,¹³ the son of the mason Sajjana, was this panegyric incised — Samvat 1311, on the 15th day of the bright half of Jyeshtha, a Wednesday. May it be well!

TRANSCRIPT

L 2

. . . पाद
 पु . . . तप्राणि [ना] -
 मष्टाभिस्तनुभिस्तनोत्वभि[मत] श्रीवैद्य[नायः स्वयम् ॥ २]¹⁴
 . . . विधेर्वि [दधत्] किल के

L 3.

. . . प्रसिद्धा ॥ ३
 शु
 तदपत्यपरपरासी ।
 शक्यानि वाक्यनिपुणैरपि — रि — —
 — — — [म]त्तमुद्भूदं सुकृतानि यस्याः ॥ [४]¹⁵

 [॥ ५]
 [आव-]

L 4.

र्जिता जितारा[तिगुणैर्वाण]रि[पोरिव]
 गूर्जरिश्चर[राण्य]श्रीर्यस्य जज्ञे स्वयंवरा ॥ ६¹⁶
 यस्मिन् शरीरवति वीररस[प्रव]ाहे
 [म]हे[द्र]ष्टमधितिष्ठति युद्धबुद्ध्या ।
 अंतःपुराणि ७ ७ राणि क — ७ — —
 — — ७ — ७ ७ — ७ ७ — ७ — — [॥ ७]¹⁷

L 5.

. . . गुणरत्नराजि गंभीरता जगति ॥ ८¹⁸
 धवलस्य सुतेनापि येन कृष्णानुकारिणा ।

¹² Dr Bhagvān Lal Indrāji read the second name as Śrīyā
 nanda.

¹³ Regarding the use of *sūtra* for *sūtradhāra*, see *Vienna
 Oriental Journal*, vol II, No 4.

¹⁴ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹⁵ Metre, Vasantatilakā

¹⁶ Metre, Anuṣṭubh

¹⁷ Metre, Vasantatilakā

¹⁸ Metre, Āryā (?)

श्रीगूर्जरधराराज्यमेतन्निष्कण्टकीकृतं ॥ ८¹⁹

रावणमिव रण[सिंह] संह[त्य] र[ण]ति[गणे] [1]

.

L 6.

. [१०]

अथात्मजे गूर्जरभूमिभार-

— — — धी[रि लवणप्र]सादे

चकार संसारविरक्तवृद्धि -

युद्धक्रतुं जीवितदक्षिणं सः ॥ ११²¹

तस्मिन्विस्मयनीयविक्रमगुणे क्षीणीभिर्मां रक्षति

क्षीणा — — — — —

— — — — —

L 7.

— — — पि ते -

नासीहर्जराराज्यमेतदधिकं श्री[राम]राज्यादपि ॥ १२²²

दोर्हर्षदुर्धरविरोधिशिरोधिरक्तः

श्रीवर्धमानसविधे वसुधां विलिप्य ।

मुक्ताफलैर्दलितकुंजरकुंभमुत्तौ -

येर्धर्मानमभिमानमधि — — ॥ [१३]²³

[जघ्ने येनासिदण्डेन गाढं नडुल]नायक [ः 1] [नि]

L 8.

घातेनेव तेनामी कपंतेद्यापि भूयतः ॥ १४²⁴

राजानः कति नाम नामरसमाः संति क्षमायां परं

ते सर्वेपि तुरुष्कराजक[थ]याप्यस्वस्थतां विभ्रति ।

तस्मिन्धीबुधुमुपागते ऽ तिकुपिते धत्ते स्म यः के[व]लं

— — — — — कतां ॥ १५

— — —

L 9.

हिरदो मदोक्त — — — — — जः

क्षत्तानेकनरेन्द्रमीलिविगलद्रक्ताभिषिक्तावनिः ।

सोपि प्राप्य पुरस्तुरुष्कानृपतिः शुष्काधरः शंकया

साकं येन क्षपाणभीषणभुजस्तंभेन [स्तं]भे जि[तः ॥ १]²⁵

— — — — —

— — — पृथक् — — —

¹ Metro, Anushubh

²⁰ Metro, Āryā

¹ Metro, Upajāti.

²² Metro, Śārdūlavikrīṭa.

²³ Metro, Vasantatilakā.

²⁴ Metro, Anushubh.

L 10

— — — — —
 — — — — — दशमासीत्तदित्य कथं
 मर्त्ययेन्ननुजैरजयमज[य]न् स्नेच्छाधिनायं कथं ॥ १७
 धाराधीश्वरदक्षिणेश्वरमरुचोपीश्वराणा गणे
 रोगाणामि[व] संनिप — — — — —
 — — — — — विक्रमौषध [नि]-

L 11.

धियक्ते चिकित्सामसी
 — — — — — ज्वर — — — कथन्वंतरिः ॥ १८²⁵
 तुल्येपि शल्योत्तरणप्रभावे
 युधिष्ठिराङ्गस्तसमस्तवंधोः ।
 समुन्नयन्नेप कुल स्वकीय-
 मुत्कृष्टकीर्तिः प्रतिभासते मे ॥ १९²⁶
 हे वि — — — — —
 — — — — —

L 12.

पाणि — — — — — पार्थस्य या
 चारित्र्यं च तदत्र याद[व]पतेस्त्रीलुक्चद्र — — ॥ २०²⁷
 सविधे वर्धमान[स्य] स्पर्धमानं पयोधिना ।
 अधःकृतसुधासार यः कुमारमकारयत् ॥ २१²⁸

L 13.

राजस्य ॥ २२
 — — : परि — — — — — पवित्रमते ऽर्जनस्य
 — — र्यमर्थ्यजनजं — — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — — प्रयत्नः ॥ २३²⁹
 नर्मदातटनिविष्टविष्टपा
 नंदिनं — — — — — [।]
 — — — — —
 — — — — — ॥ २४³⁰
 सु [त -]

L 14.

[स्तस्यादासी]इश्वरयककुस्यप्रतिकृतिः
 [प्र]तिष्ठापासानां कवलितवली वीरधवलः
 यशःपूरे यस्य [प्रसरति रतिक्लांतमनसा-]

²⁵ Metre of verses 15-18, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

²⁶ Metre, Upajāti

²⁷ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita

²⁸ Metre, Anuṣṭubh.

²⁹ Metre, Vasantatilakā.

³⁰ Metre, Rathoddhātā.

[मसाध्वीनां भस्माभिसरणक]सायां कुमसता ॥ २५^{२१}

ते — — — किमपि

.

.

L 28.

. ॥ [४]

धारापतिर्दक्षिण उ — —

— — — युगप[त्स]मिती ।

धीरस्त्रयोरेव समानतंत्रं

निका उ — — उ उ धस्यकार ॥ [४५]^{२२}

.

.

L 25.

.

.

. . . ॥ ५१ — — — कीरेण श्रीवीसली

.

.

L 29.

.

.

श्रीवीसलः आपतिर्धाराधीश्वरदक्षिणेधरा

.

.

L 80.

.

— — — — —
— — — — — [१]

— — — — — सिंधुतीरे

वीरव्रतं चरति वीसलदेव एव ॥ ५८^{२३}

.

.

L 89.

— — — — — प्रजानां च तत् ।

सा येन स्मृतिरध्यगामि — ति तः पूर्वं ययातिर्यया

— — — — — [॥ ७६]^{२४}

— — — — —

L 40.

— — — — — ।

— — — — —

— — — — — वीसलः शलभता[मात्म]प्रतापानले ॥ ७७

आधिपत्यमधि[ग]त्य जगत्याः

पाथिर्वेदुरय वीसलदेवः ।

^{२१} Metre, Śikharṇī.

^{२२} Metre, Upajāti.

^{२३} Metre, Vasantatilakā.

^{२४} Metre of verses 76-77, Śārdūlavikrīḍita. Read सा येन स्मृतिः

L 49.

— — — — — [1]

. कस्य वसुधावधुरुहधार कुलद्वयं ॥ ८५

यः प्राकारं शराकार कारयामासिवाश्रयं ।

. [1]

धातुक[तरूप]सिद्धिः — — — — संधिः खरो वितन्ध . . . [1]

— — महाभाष्यगुणः . [॥ ८७]

L 50.

— — — — — धन्वंतरिर्यदि ।

तथाप्येष विशेषश्चैरतुलः परिकीर्त्यते ॥ ८८⁴¹

नूनं दास्यति दानदुर्हर — — — — —

— — — कनकाचलं तदधुना किं धाम — सो वयं ।

एवं पक्षवयंति यावद — — — — —

— — — — —

L 51.

— — — धि ॥ ८९⁴²

येन [कस्य]लतादानं निदानं विप्रसंपदां ।

दीयते धर्मलुब्धेन प्रत्यब्दमधिकाधिकां ॥ १००⁴³

दानानि प्रदत्तानां ।

अलमस्मि नास्य यस्माद्भवयितुमेकं गुणधामं ॥ १०१⁴⁴

अन्येषां ि — — — — —

— — — — —

L 52.

— — य — ।

अथातक्रतुदक्षिणाप्रसुदितव्रजप्रयुक्तः पुन-

र्वेदानां अनिरध्वनि अवशयोरस्त्रैव देशेऽपि — [॥ १०२]⁴⁵

[कनक]वितरणप्रसिद्धिमस्य

क्षितिरमस्यस्य निग्रमस्य खल्वमानः ।

वलिरपि मलिनं विभर्त्ति यज्ञं

किमपि न ज — — — — — [॥ १०३]⁴⁶

— — — — —

L 53.

— — — — — मे तावतीः समाः ।

तद्वात्रा येन पात्राणां सुप्तं दारिद्र्यमासनं ॥ १०४⁴⁷

वराकाशुर्वराकांतान्कस्तुषां — — — — — ते ।

सुधामयंतमंशुं वा हिमांशुं वा त्रुवे समं ॥ १०५

असुखः काकुलः कृतकुलवृत्तिः कौरवपति -

र्थधादे — — नो — — — — — कल जीवसु — ।

L 54.

— — पेतः श्वेतः शमिषु पुरुषः सोपि नष्ट -

क्षतः क्षाघ्रं लोके तमश्मवलोके नृपवरं ॥ १०६⁴⁸⁴¹ Metro, Anushubh.⁴² Metro, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁴³ Metro, Anushubh.⁴⁴ Metro, Āryā⁴⁵ Metro, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁴⁶ Metro, Pūshpīāgrā⁴⁷ Metro of verses 104-105, Anushubh.⁴⁸ Metro Śikharṇī.

वरोचने र[चितवत्य]मरेशमैत्री -
मेकत्र नागनगर च गते द्वितीये
दीनाननं भुवनमूर्ध्वमधश्च पश्य -
दाक्षासितं पुनरुदारकरेण येन ॥ १०७⁴⁹
धर्मस्थानं विधिना विधा — — —

L 55.

— — — तिलको यः ।

धर्मस्थानैः स्वस्तौः सुकती सोय चिरं जयतु ॥ १०८⁵⁰ इतश्च
प्राग्वाटवंशे ७ ७ — गनामा
श्रीचडसिंहस्य सुतो वभूव ।
यः क्षोणिपालेन निजप्रतीत्या
वैद्येशितुर्दुर्गापदेऽधिचक्रे ॥ १०९⁵¹
किं वर्धनीयमधुना सचिवस्य तस्य
सत्कोत्तिं [पू]

L 56.

रपरिपूरितभूतलस्य ।

यत्कारितोड्डमरनिर्विवरप्रकार -
प्राकारपद्मतिरगाहत नाकिलोकं ॥ ११०⁵²
[आ]सीत्सादेवनामा सकलगुणनिधिः सुत्रभूततोऽभु-
न्मूलस्थानाख्यभानोर्भवनाविरचनाख्यातिभृ[द्वा]मदेवः ।
तस्योत्पन्नस्तनूजो मदनसमभिघो वि[श्वक]

L 57.

र्षे]प्रसूतः

श्रीमद्देवेशवप्रप्रविततसदनहारमाखाधिकर्त्ता ॥ १११⁵³
आह्लादनस्य तन[यो भूतो] वैद्येशितुः स्थिरः स्वपतिः ।
देवादित्यसमाश्रयः ख्यातो धुरि सुत्रधाराणां ॥ ११२⁵⁴
श्रीवैद्यनाथ भगवन् भुवनैकनाथ
त्वामर्थये किमपि देव तव प्रसादात् ।
नि[त्यं प-]

L 58.

राधिरहितः सहितश्च पुत्रैः

कल्यायुतं जयतु वीरसलदेव एवः ॥ ११३⁵⁵
प्रशस्तिमेता[म] ७ — ७ — —
संभूतभूपालपुरोहितेन्द्रः ।
चकार सोमेश्वरदेवनामा
यामार्चनिष्पन्नमहाप्रबधः । ११४⁵⁶
त्रियामन्दस्य तनयः श्रीनदिपुरगो[त्र]जः ।

⁴⁹ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭa.

⁵⁰ Metre, Āryā.

⁵¹ Metre, Indravajrā.

⁵² Metre, Vasantatilakā.

⁵³ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭa.

⁵⁴ Metre, Āryā.

⁵⁵ Metre, Vasantatilakā.

⁵⁶ Metre, Upajāti.

L 59. मङ्गादनी ऽ लिख[त्तां च] प्रशस्तिं द्विजपुंगवः ॥ ११५⁶⁷

सूत्रसज्जनपुत्रेण पद्मसिंहेन शिल्पिना ।

सूत्रधारधुरीणेन [प्रशस्तिरुद]कीर्यत ॥ ११६

संवत् १३११ वर्षे ज्येष्ठ शुदि १५ बुधदिने ॥ छ ॥ — ॥ — ॥

शु [भं] भवतु ॥ छ ॥ * ॥

V.—RATNAPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF JAJALLADEVA,
OF THE (CHEDI) YEAR 866.

By PROF. F. KIELHORN, Ph.D., C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription is on a reddish-brown stone which was found at Ratnapur, in the Central Provinces, and is now in the Nāgpur Museum.

The inscription consists of 31 lines. The writing originally covered a space of about 2' 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by 2' 2" high. At present, a small portion of the upper proper left corner and a large portion of the lower right corner of the stone are broken away, so that from 4 to 9 *aksharas* are missing at the end of the first five lines, and from 2 to about 25 *aksharas* at the beginning of the last thirteen lines. Small portions of the stone appear to have broken away also at the upper right and lower left corners, and by the peeling off of the surface some *aksharas* have become illegible, especially in the last three lines of the inscription, as will appear from my transcript of the text.—The size of the letters generally varies from $\frac{1}{2}$ " to $\frac{5}{8}$ ", and is somewhat less in the five or six bottom lines. The characters are Devanāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and, except for the introductory blessing and the date at the end, the inscription is in verse. The verses are numbered, and their total number is 34. The names of the composer, of the writer, and of the engraver appear to have been given in the concluding verses, but they are now illegible.—In respect of orthography we have to note the very frequent employment of the dental for the palatal sibilant (in *sapharś*, line 1; *siras*, line 2, *vamsā*, line 4, *visva*, lines 4 and 16; *satru*, line 6; *kōsam*, line 7, *sōbham*, line 9; *srutā*, line 13; *saurya*, lines 14 twice, 23, and 25; *sītāmsu*, line 19; *sōhik*, line 19, *Sōmēsvārō*, line 20; *sirō*, line 23; *asēsham*, line 24; *sāsanam*, line 28, *sāsvatam*, line 28; *sāstra*, line 29; *prasasti*, lines 30 twice, and 31); the employment of the palatal for the dental sibilant in *tamīśra*, line 9, *śitam*, line 19, and *śarasa*, line 26, and the non-observance of the rules of Sandhi in *samabhavat śrī-*, line 3, *āsīt śēshāms-cha*, line 6, and *mutravat-śrīyā*, line 20. The consonant *b* is denoted by the sign for *v* everywhere except in *abdhi*, line 18, where the proper sign for *b* has been employed.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of a prince Jājalladēva of Ratnapura, a distant descendant of the Chēdi ruler Kōkalla, and it is dated in the year 866, expressed by decimal figures only, on the 9th day of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha, on Ravi or Sunday. And the inscription records (verses 27-31) certain religious benefactions,—the establishment of a monastery for ascetics, the making of a garden and of a lake, probably also the foundation of, or the establishment of a temple at, Jājallapura, and the grant of the village of Sirulī, and of Arjunakōnasarana (?), &c., by the prince Jājalladēva. Elsewhere I have tried to show that the epoch of the Chēdi era is A.D. 248-49, and assuming the date of the present inscription to be recorded in that era, I

⁶⁷ Metre of verses 115-116, Anushtubh

have found by Professor Jacobi's tables that the 9th day of the bright fortnight of the month Mārgaśīrsha, 866, corresponds to the 8th November, A.D. 1114, which *was* a Sunday, as required. On that day, at sunrise, the 9th *tithi* of the bright half of the month was current, and it ended 19 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise.¹

By way of introduction, the inscription gives the following account of the prince Jājalladēva and his ancestors —

In the lunar race there was Kārtavīrya (v. 2), the ancestor of Haihaya, from whom were born the Haihayas (v. 3). In the race of these princes was born the Chēdi ruler Kōkalla, whose residence or country appears to be called Tritasaurya (v. 4). Kōkalla had eighteen sons, of whom the first-born was ruler of Tripurī, while the others became lords of *mandalas* (v. 5). A descendant of one of these younger sons was Kalingarāja, who left Tritasaurya and acquired Dakṣiṇakōśāla (v. 6), where he settled at Tummāna (v. 7). His son was Kamalarāja (v. 8), and his son again Ratnarāja (v. 9) or Ratnēśa, who ornamented Tummāna with temples, gardens, &c. (v. 10), and founded Ratnapura (v. 11-12). He married Nōnallā, a daughter of Vajjūka, the prince of the Kōmō *mandala* (v. 13), who bore to him a son, Prithvidēva or Prithvīśa, who succeeded Ratnarāja (v. 14-16), and built temples at Tummāna and a tank at Ratnapura (v. 17). He married Rājallā (v. 18), who bore to him Jājalladēva (v. 19). Jājalla was allied with the ruler of Chēdi (v. 20), and honoured by the princes of Kanyakubja and Jējābhuktika (v. 21); he defeated and captured in battle one Sōmēśvara (v. 22); and he had either annual tribute paid or presents given to him by the chiefs of the *mandalas* of [Dakṣiṇa]-kōśāla, Andhra, Khimidi, Vairāgara, Lañjikā, Bhānāra, Talahāri, Dandakapura, Nandāvali, and Kukuta (v. 23).

I am not at present able to give a satisfactory account of the countries and places mentioned in the preceding. The name Tummāna we shall meet again in the two following inscriptions, where it denotes a country or district, not a town. Perhaps it may have been the original name of the "Junā Shahar," which is mentioned as being close to Ratnapur in *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, vol VII, p. 216. Vairāgara and Lañjikā may be readily identified with Wairagarh and Lānji on the map, plate I, appended to vol. XVII of the *Archæological Survey of India*. The Talahāri *mandala* is mentioned in lines 6 and 20 of a Ratnapur inscription of [Chēdi-] Samvat 915, which has suffered in the most deplorable manner, since it was first drawn attention to by Sir R. Jenkins in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XV, p. 504. Both

¹ With Sir A. Cunningham's epoch of A.D. 249-50, the corresponding date would be *Saturday*, November 27, A.D. 1115. On the other hand, with the epoch A.D. 248-49, and a year beginning with either the month Bhādrapada or Āśvina, the week days of the ten inscriptions mentioned in the *Book of Indian Eras*, page 61, come out as follows —

Chēdi 793, Phālguna ba di 9, Sōmē = Monday, January 18, A.D. 1042
" 866, Mārga śu-di 8, Ravau = Sunday, November 8, A.D. 1114
" 896, Mārga śukla 8, Budha = Wednesday, January 3, A.D. 1145.
" 898, Āśvina śu di 2, Sōmē = Monday, September 9, A.D. 1146.
" 902, Āshāḍha śu di 1, Sunday = Sunday, June 17, A.D. 1151
" 907, Mārga śu di 10, Ravau = Sunday, November 6, A.D. 1155
" 909, Śrāvana śu-di 5, Budhē = Wednesday, July 2, A.D. 1158
" 928, Mārga ba di 10, Sōmē = Monday, December 27, A.D. 1176
" 928, Śrāvana śu di 6, Ravau = Sunday, July 3, A.D. 1177
" 934, Kārttika śu-di 15, Budhē = Wednesday, October 13, A.D. 1182

For a full account of the epoch of the Chēdi era, see *Nachrichten d. Ges. d. Wissenschaften, Göttingen*, 1838, pp. 314-41, and especially a paper in the *Indian Antiquary*

Talahâri and Kômô occur in the inscription from Râjīm which has been edited in the same volume of the *Asiatic Researches*; and the name Komo is found, in 'Komo Pass' and 'Komo Choki,' on the maps, about 80 miles to the north of Ratnapur. A place, Kimedi or Khimide in Ganjâm, is mentioned in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVI, p. 181; and as we there have the name Parlâ-Kimedi, we may possibly have to read in the present inscription Andhra-Khimidi, not Andhra and Khimidi.

The prince of Kanyakubja alluded to in our inscription probably was Gôvinda-chandra (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV, p. 6); the prince of Jêjâbhuktika (or Bundelkhand—see Hultzsch in *Zeitsch. Deutsch. Morg. Ges.*, vol. XL, p. 49, note), the Ohandëlla king Kirtivarmadêva (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVI, p. 202; and *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XXI, page 85); and the ruler of Chêdi, Yasâhkarna or Gayakarna of Tripurî. Sômêśvara I had thought of identifying with the prince of that name, the father of the Ohâhumâna prince Prithvirâja (*Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XXI, p. 174); but as that Sômêśvara appears to have died in A.D. 1169 (*Journal As. Soc. of Bengal*, vol. LV, pt. I, p. 15), he could hardly have been defeated by Jâjalladêva before A.D. 1114.

TEXT.²

1. [Ôm || Śasi ?]-śakala-kalâ [k]i[m - ८ - n]-āmrit-āmbhah-plava-va(ba)halita-nîra-svarnna[dî-tîra]-vritth | kim=u va(ba)ta sa(śa)phar=îti svah-śri-
[tâ ?] - ८ - ८ - ८ - ८

2. si(śi)rasi yasya syât sa Îśah śivâya || 1³ || Êtad=yat=paramam vihamtri timiram trailôkya-nêtra-dyuti jyôtiś=tat=purusham(shâh)⁴ sudh-âkara iti prâhus=tam=antar ८ - ८
- - - ८ - ८

3. [jô] na charamah sâmrâjya-sû[tra]m yatah [kshâ]trasy=âdi-tad-anvayê samabhavat śri-Kârttavîryah kshitau || 2⁵ || Tad-vamśyô Haihaya âsîd=yatô=jâyanta Haihayâh |

4. tyasênapiyâ satî || 3⁶ || Têshâm Haihaya-bhûbhujâm sa[mabha]vad = vamsê(śê) sa Chêd-îśvarah śri-Kô[kal]la⁷ iti Smara-pratikritir=vvîśva(śva)-pramôdô yatah | yên=âyam Tritasau[rya ?] - ८ - ८ - ८

5. mēna mâtum yaśah sviyam prêshi[ta u]⁸chchakaih kiyad=îti vra(bra)hmâmdam=antah-kshiti || 4⁹ || Ashtâdas=âśya ripu-kumbhi-vibhamga-simhâh putrâ va(ba)bhûvur=abhiwarddhita - ८ - ८

6. h | têshâm=ath-âgraja-sutas-Tripur-îśa âsît sêshamś = cha mamdala-patîr=sa chakâra va(ba)mdhûn || 5¹⁰ || Prâpat=têshu Kalîngarâjam = asamam vamsâh kramâd = ânujah putram sa(śa)tru-kalatra-nêtra-salila-sphî-

7. ta[m] pratâpa-drumah(m)¹¹ | yên=âyam Tritasaurya-kôsa(śa)m = akriśîkartur vihây-ânvaya-kshônîm Dakshina-kôśalô janapadô vâ(bâ)hu-dvayên=ârjjitah || 6¹² || Râjadhâni sa Tummanah pûrvvajaih krita ity = a-

² From an impression supplied to me by Dr Burgess, Director of the Archaeological Survey of India

³ Metre, Mâlini.

⁴ I believe that this correction has been made already in the original

⁵ Metre, Śârdûlavikrîdita

⁶ Metre, Ślôka (Anushubh)

⁷ The *akshara* in brackets might possibly be *kla*

⁸ The *aksharas* in brackets may be *ta u*, or *tamu*.

⁹ Metre, Śârdûlavikrîdita

¹⁰ Metre, Vasantatilakâ

¹¹ Possibly this correction has been made already in the original

¹² Metre, Śârdûlavikrîdita

8. tah | tatra-sthō 'ri-kshayam kurvvan = varddhayām-āsa sa śriyam || 7¹² || Jātas-
tatah pratata-nirmala-kirtti-kāntah śītāmsu-vat = Kamalarāja it = iha simdhōh |
nrinām manah-kumudashamdā = adhūśri-
9. sō(śō) bham yasmād=abhūd=arijan-āindhatamiśra(sra)-nāśah || 8¹⁴ || Mahābharttri-
vibhūsh-ārtham payōdhir = iva kaustubham | jita-sūra-pratāpam hi Ratnarājam-asūta
sah || 9¹⁵ || Śrī-Vamkēśa-surālaya-prabhritayō [Ra ?]-
10. [tnē ?] svar-ādyās = tathā yatr = ōdyānam = asamkhyā-pushpa-suphalaṁ chār-
ūchcham = āmvrāṁ¹⁶ vanam | Ratnēśēna [sa]-saudha-sadma-nichitās = chāru-śriyā
bhūshitas=Tummānah samakāri lōchana-sukhah samvīkshyamā-
11. [nō] janaiḥ || 10¹⁷ || Etad = yad = vipulam Dhanēśvara-pura-prakhyam mahēś-
ānvitam nānāvārṇa-vichitra-ratna-nichitam ratnālay-ābham yatah | nānā-dēvakulais-
cha bhūshitam=iti svargg-ābham = ālakshyatō śrīma-
12. [d=Ra] tnapuram diśi śruta-yaśō Ratnēśvarō yad=vyadhāt || 11 || Vyadhā-
payan=mām bluvi Ratnarājah śrēsthī yaśās=chēd=adhitishthati sma | vakt-
ity=adō Ratnapuram samantān = mattō 'nayōr = yātu ya [śa]-
13. s = trilōkam || 12¹⁸ || Kōmō-mamdala-bhūbharttur=V vajjūkasya [sru(śru)]tā
sutā | Nōnallā Ratnarājēna parimitā nrīpa-śriyā || 13 || Tasyām = ajani Prithvīśam(śō)¹⁹
dharmma-śaurya-gun-ānvitam(h)²⁰ | svar = nninyē
14. [dha] rmmatō vamsyān sau(śau)ryāch = cha yudhī vidvishah || 14²⁰ || Sau(śau)[ry-
ādyai ?] Ratnarājē yudhī ripu-jayini svar-ggatō svargga-kṛityāt = Prithvidēvah,
kshutīśas = tad=anu samabhavat = tat-sutah kshātra-sūrah |
15. aśya-śrīdatva-śaurya-pramukha-guna-bharair-lōka-pālah sa ē[va] mkshātram
trastam hi tasmai kuruta iti namō yēna prithvyāḥ sa dēvah || 15²¹ || Prithvidēva-samā-
śritā bhavati cha sva-
16. rggō hi [lō]ka-sthitiś = chitram ch=aitad=atah sphutam sphurati yat=sarvvatra
sūr-āśritā | bhūri-śrī-vitatā śata-kratu-vratā bhāsvan-mahēś=āchyutā visv(śv)-ānamdu-vu-
(bu)dhā prasarpita-sudhāśadm-āśritā
17. [ni]r-dvidhā || 16²² || Tummānē dharmma-kirtty-ārtham Prithvidēvēśvar-
ādayah | Ratnapurē samudr-ābhas=tēn=ākāri cha sāgarah || 17²³ || Upayēmē sa Rājallām
yā kānty-ēv=ēmdū-saprabhā | Lakshmīr = iv = āchyuta-
18. prītiḥ saubhāgyēn=ēva Pārsvatī || 18 || Aīmdrīr=Aīmdryām=iv=Ēmdrēna svah-
śriyām=abdhin=ēmdū-vat | Prithvidēvēna tasyām tu Jājallō 'jani kirttimān || 19 || Chi-
tram yasya yaśō vyadhāt = anu-
19. [diśa ?] m śī(śī)tāmsu-sō(śō)chih-prabham raktam straina-śatam śī(si)tam jagad-
idam kurvvach=cha krishnān=arīn | śrī-Jājalla udētū yah prati-dinam sūrah pratāpa-
rddhi-tas = Chēd-līśēna sa ama-sam[gra ?]²⁴ ha-kritā maitrya-
20. ◡ -- ◡ [ta]h || 20²⁵ || Kanyakuṇ(b)ja-mahipēna Jājābhuktika-bhūbhujā |
sūra iti pratāpitvād = arhitō mitravat = śriyā || 21²⁶ || Lakshmīḥ saptavidh=āpi yasya
jagrihē yuddhē cha Sōmēsva(śva)rō

¹² Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

¹⁴ Metre, Vasantatilakā.

¹⁶ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

¹⁸ Read *amraṇ*

²⁰ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīḍita, and of the next verse

²² Metre, Upajāti

²⁴ I am almost certain that these two corrections have been made already in the original

²⁶ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh), and of the next verse

²⁸ Metre, Sragdhārā.

³⁰ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīḍita

³² Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh), and of the next two verses

³⁴ I am very doubtful about this *akṣara*, it looks rather

like *sgra*, or perhaps *ggra*

³⁶ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīḍita

³⁸ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

21. --- ◡ ◡ --- [da]gva(gdha)m=amitam sanyam nihaty=āmunā | va(ba)ddharā
mantri-kalatra-sārtham=anu tan=mātur=ggirā mōchitam yēna v(b)rūta sa īdrīśah kshiti-
patr = drishtaḥ kshitau vā śrutah
22. [|| 22ⁿ] - - - ◡ [pa]kō[śa]l-Âmdhra-Khimidi-Vai[rāga]ram Lamjikā
Bhāṇāras = Talahāri Damdakapuram Namdāvali Kukkutah | yasy = aishām hi
mahipa-mamdala-bhṛtō maitrēṇa kēchin = mudē kēchi-
23. --- ◡ --- ◡ --- kany=anvav(b)da-k[li]ptam daduh || 23 || Yatra pratāpini
chehhat[t*]ram=ākam=ēva si(śi)rō-dhṛitam | chitram kurvvaj = janē śaityam kuryāt =
tāpam hridi dvishām || 24²³ || Udāratā-sau(śau)rya-gabhīrimā-
24. ◡ ◡ --- ◡ - - - ◡ ◡ 'sya varttatē | bhuv=ēty=abhāshi pratatam samuch-
chritair=yasah su-sūbhraih surasadma-sadbhujaih || 25²² || Kim Kāmō=yam=asāv=asē(śē)-
[sham=a]tanus = Tryaksh-ākshi-drishtō na yah kim Vaikumta(ṭha)-
25. ◡ - - - ◡ ◡ --- ◡ --- śriyā | śūrah sau(śau)ryata imdur = imdita-ruchā
śrīdah kim=arhi-priya ēvam ma[rshayat P]ā janēna viditō Jājalladēvaś=chirāt || 26³⁰ ||
Śrī-Jājallapuram
26. ◡ - ◡ ◡ --- - - - ◡ --- ◡ --- ◡ [śivaś=cha P] tāpasa-mathah s-ōdyānam=
āhvrām³¹ vanam | tulyam svah-śa(sa)rasah sarō=pi ruchiram yat=kāritam śrīmatā
Jājallēna tad = astu kīrtti-ruchira[m]
27. - - ◡ - - - ◡ [|| 27 ||] [pa-Dignā P]g-ādi-pramāṇa-vit | [sv-ā]-
nya-siddhānta-vich=ch=āsyā śrīmān Rudraśivō guruh || 28²³ || Sāmdhivigrahikō=py=
asya Vīgra[ha]rāja ity = abhūt |
28. [|| 29 ||] Dadau dēvāya Jājallah Siruli-
grāmam-u[ṭta]mam | mathāya pāṭalā-sārtham sā(śā)sana[m] sā(śā)sva(śva)[ta]m
nripah || 30 || Arjunakōnasara[na]m sa dē-
29. | vē || 31 || Śrī[ma]-r ◡ -
◡ - r ◡ ◡ guru-prasparddhi-mamtr-āgrāṇi kāyasthō 'sama-sā(śā)stra-sāra-[suma]tiḥ
śrīmā[n = sa Saud-ānvayē] | śrī-
30. - - ◡ - - - ◡ --- ◡ --- ◡ --- ◡ --- [prasa(śa)stim=a]samām
Jāja[lladē]vē vyadhāt || 32²³ || Ohakrē prasa(śa)stisāt = tasya—rbhēśō vimalān = gunān |
uttamam hala[dī]-
31. [|| 33²⁴ ||] dharō vu(bu)-
dhah | prasa(śa)stim prāpta-[svarvā]sām vāsta . . [nu]jō = likhat || 34 || [Sa]mvat 866
Mārga su di 9 Ravau | [Jāja(P)²⁵-ā=P]

TRANSLATION.

Om !

(Verse 1.)—May that Īśa grant prosperity!—he on whose head is it the crescent portion [of the moon], abiding by the shore of the celestial river, the waters of which are augmented by the flood of the nectar fluid ? or is it, oh, a carp, thus gone to heaven !

(V. 2.)—This highest light dispelling darkness, having the lustre of the eye of the three worlds, which men call 'the mine of nectar,' not the last, whence (*there is*)

²⁷ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next verse.

²⁸ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

²⁹ Metre, Vamśartha.

³⁰ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next verse

³¹ Read āvraś.

²² Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh), and of the next three verses.

²³ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

²⁴ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh), and of the next verse.

²⁵ Originally jā, corrected to ja (P).

the line of universal sovereignty of the regal order,—in his (*the moon's*) primeval race there was born on earth the illustrious Kārtavīrya.

(V. 3)—Of his race was Haihaya, from whom were born the Haihayas (?)

(V. 4)—In the race of these Haihaya princes was born that ruler of Ohêdī, the illustrious Kôkalla, an image of the god of love, whence all derived delight; by whom, (*being*) on earth, in order to measure his own fame, how much it might be, this of (?) Tritasaurya was sent up high into the universe.

(V. 5)—He had eighteen sons, who destroyed the enemies as lions do elephants, (*and*) who increased The first-born son among them afterwards was ruler of Tripurī, and he made the remaining brothers lords of *mandalas*

(V. 6)—The race of one among these younger brothers in the course of time obtained an unequalled son, Kalingarāja, a tree of prowess grown large by the water of the eyes of the wives of enemies; who, in order not to impoverish the treasury of Tritasaurya, abandoned the ancestral land and acquired by his two arms this country Dakshinakôśala.

(V. 7)—Since Tummāna had been made a royal residence by his ancestors, therefore residing there, he increased his fortune, causing the destruction of his enemies.

(V. 8)—As the cool-rayed (*moon*) from the ocean, so was born here from him Kamalarāja, lovely by his expanding spotless fame, through whom the lotus-group of the minds of men received exceeding lustre, (*and*) who dispelled, like blinding darkness, the hostile people.

(V. 9)—As the ocean (*produced*) the Kaustubha for the decoration of the supporter of the earth (Vishnu), so he begat Ratnarāja, who verily conquered the prowess of heroes, to be an ornament of princes.

(V. 10).—Tummāna with its temples of the holy Vankêśa and other (*gods*) and also (*of*) Ratnêśvara and the rest, with a garden containing innumerable flowers and beautiful fruit, (*and*) a charming high mango grove, (*and*) crowded with palatial dwellings, decorated with charming beauty, was made by Ratnêśa pleasant to the eyes, when viewed by the people.

(V. 11)—This extensive glorious Ratnapura, which Ratnêśvara built, has its fame listened to in (*every*) quarter; held by a great lord, it is like the city of (Kuvêra) the lord of riches; it is full of many-coloured sparkling jewels and hence like (the ocean) the abode of jewels, and since it is decorated with many temples, it looks like heaven, (*with the many families of gods*).

(V. 12).—On all sides Ratnapura there says If Ratnarāja ordered me to be built on the earth, (*and*) if the foreman of the guild acquired fame, may the fame of these two proceed from me to the three worlds! (?).

(V. 13)—Nônallâ, the famous daughter of Vajjûka, the prince of the Kômô *mandala*, was married by Ratnarāja, together with the majesty of princes

(V. 14).—From her was born Prithvîsa, endowed with the qualities of righteousness and bravery. He led to heaven his kinsmen through his righteousness, and his enemies through his bravery in battle.

(V. 15).—When Ratnarāja, who by his bravery and other (*qualities*) conquered the enemies in battle, had gone to heaven through his action (*worthy*) of heaven, his son Prithvidêva, the royal hero, became ruler of the earth after him He was (*really*) a

god on earth (*Prithvī-dēva*), inasmuch as the frightened tribe of kings verily offered adoration to him, regarding him to be a guardian of the world in consequence of his many excellent qualities, among which lordly nature, bestowing of prosperity, and bravery were foremost.

(V 16)—And ruled over by Prithvidēva, the earth verily was heaven (*itself*). And this marvel was strikingly manifest from the fact, that (*the earth*) everywhere was dwelled on by heroes, spread over with abundant fortune, (*and*) covered with hundred sacrifices, that it had a splendid great lord, and was (*in consequence*) unshaken; that the learned on it caused joy to everybody, that it was built over with extensive stuccoed buildings, (*and*) was without a second.³⁶

(V 17)—For the glory of religion (*shrines of*) Prithvidēvēśvara and others (*were established*) at Tummāna, and a tank resembling the ocean was built by him at Ratnapura

(V. 18)—He married Rājallā, who by her loveliness shone like the moon, who was like Lakshmi (the beloved of Achyuta) inasmuch as her love was unshaken, (*and*) like Pārvatī by her beauty.

(V. 19)—As Indra (*begat*) Jayanta on Aindri, (*and*) the ocean the moon in the beauty of heaven, so Prithvidēva on her begat the famous Jājalla.

(V. 20).—Strange (*to relate*), his fame, shining like the lustre of the cool-rayed (moon) in every direction, rendered a hundred women red (with affection), while it made this world white, and the enemies black. The illustrious Jājalla, who rises up a hero day by day on account of the abundance of his prowess, was by the ruler of Ohēdi, forming an alliance of princes (P)³⁷ friendship.

(V. 21).—By the ruler of Kapyakubja (*and*) the prince of Jājābhuktika, considering him a hero on account of his prowess, he was like a friend honoured with fortune.

(V 22)—He who is possessed of even sevenfold fortune, and (*by whom?*) was seized in battle Sōmēśvara having slain an immense army; (*and*) by whom was captured, and afterwards at his mother's request released, the group³⁸ of counsellors and wives,—tell me, have you seen or heard of such (*another*) prince on earth?

(V. 23).—To whom verily the princely rulers of these *mandalas*, (*viz.*) [Dakṣi]nakōśala, Andhra, Khimidi, Vairāgara, Lañjikā, Bhānāra, Talahārī, Dandakapura, Nandāvali, Kukkuta,—some out of friendship, some to delight (*him*), gave fixed year by year.

(V 24)—Of whom, endowed with majesty, the unique umbrella held over his head, while causing coolness to (*his*) people, strange (*to relate*), may well cause heart-burning of enemies

(V. 25)—Nobility, bravery, depth he possesses; thus (*his*) expanding fame was proclaimed by the earth with the uplifted very splendid excellent arms—the habitations of the gods.

(V 26)—Is this that entirely bodiless god of love, who has not been seen by the eye of the three-eyed (Śiva)? Is it Vaikuntha with fortune? Is he, a hero on

³⁶ I have taken the word *nirāvidhā* in the sense of *advaya* or *advitīya*, but am unable to quote another passage in support of this meaning. When applied to heaven, some of the adjectives of the text have to be translated differently, thus chosen by Indra (*Satakratu*), containing the splendid great lord (Śiva) and Achyuta (Viṣṇu), containing the planet Mercury (Budha) which causes joy to the universe, and the moon, the habitation of nectar, which moves about in heaven.

³⁷ I have taken *aina*, as an adjective, derived from *ina*, 'a lord, master, king,' &c, but am doubtful about this passage

³⁸ The word *sāritā* is ordinarily masculine, not neuter

account of his heroism, the moon by his mighty splendour, the bestower of fortune (Kuvéra), dear to supplicants? By the people, thus deliberating,²⁹ was he at last found out to be Jājalladēva

(V. 27)—The glorious Jājallapura [and an auspicious] monastery (*matha*) for ascetics, a mango grove with a garden, a pleasant lake, too, equal to the lake of heaven, which was caused to be made by the illustrious Jājalla, may that be, shining like fame,

(V. 28)—His religious adviser (*was*) the illustrious Rudrasīva, who knew the authoritative doctrines of . . . pa, Dignāga (?), and others, and knew his own and others' established truths.

(V. 29.)—His minister for peace and war also was Vīgraharāja,

(V. 30)—The prince Jājalla gave to the god the excellent village of Sirulī, to the monastery a group of *pātālā* trees, as a perpetual grant.

(V. 31.)—Arjunakōnasarana (?) he

(V. 32)—The *Kāyastha*, the illustrious . . . in the Sauda family . . . the leader of those whose counsel rivals the preceptor . . . illustrious . . . who is an unequalled proficient in the essence of the Śāstras . . . , has composed the unequalled eulogy on Jājalladēva.

(V. 33.)— . . rbhēsa has brought his spotless qualities into the eulogy, the excellent

(V. 34.)— the learned . . dhara, the younger brother . . . , has written the eulogy which has obtained a dwelling in heaven.

The year 866; the 9th day of the bright half of Mārga[śirsha], on a Sunday. Jājā (?).

VI—MALHAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF JAJALLADEVA, OF THE (CHEDI) YEAR 919

By Prof. F. KIELHORN, Ph D, C I.E, GÖTTINGEN

This inscription is on a black stone, now in the Nāgpur Museum, where it appears to have been brought from Malhār in the Central Provinces

The inscription consists of 28 lines. The writing covers a space of from 2' 3½" to 2' 4½" broad by 1' 0½" high. At the upper proper right corner a small piece of the stone appears to have broken away, so that the first four *akṣaras* of the first line are missing, otherwise the inscription is complete, and well preserved almost throughout. The size of the letters is ½".—The characters are Dēvanāgarī.—The language is Sanskrit, and, except for the introductory blessing and the date at the end, the inscription is in verse. The verses are numbered, and their total number is 26. They were composed by Ratnasimha, son of Māmē, of the Vāstavya race; and the inscription was written by the Kshatriya Kumārapāla, of the Sahasrārjuna race, and engraved by the sculptor Sāmpula (verses 23-26). In respect of orthography we have to note the employment of the dental for the palatal sibilant and *vice versa* in *saurya*, line 8, and *vydāṣṭa*, line 25; the use of the dental *n* instead of the *anuvāra* in *mīmāṃsā*, line 16, and *anhrī*, line 26, the exceptional denotation of *ñcha* by the sign for *ncha* in *bhātin=cha*,

²⁹ I take *mṛśa*, *marshayati*, to be used in the sense of *mṛśat*, *mṛśati*

line 13; and the non-observance of the rules of Samdhi in *āvahan Śubhra-*, line 4. The consonant *ḍ* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of a prince Jājalladēva, a ruler of Tummāna, of the Chēdi family, and it is dated, in figures only, in the year 919, which, taken as a year of the Chēdi era, would correspond to A.D. 1167-1168. And it records the erection, at the town of Mallāla, of a temple of the god Kēdāra (i.e., Śiva) by the Brāhman Sōmarāja, a younger son of Gangādhara, who in turn was the son of Prithvidhara. In the introductory portion we are told that the prince Jājalladēva was preceded by his father Prithvidēva, who again was the son of the prince Ratnadēva, the vanquisher of Chōda and Ganga princes, of the lunar race (verses 4-7). And we are further informed that the Brāhman Prithvidhara had been settled at the village Kumbhatī in Madhyadēśa; and that his son Gangādhara had come from there to the country Tummāna, and had been honoured by the prince Ratnadēva with the gift of the village Kōsambī. (Verses 9-13.)

Mallāla most probably is the modern Malhār (or Malar), where the inscription is stated to have been found. The other places I am unable to identify.

TEXT.¹

1. [Ōm ōm nama* ²][h Śi]vāya || Mūrdha-nyasta-jat-ām(v)bupallava-chayō
bhāla-sthali-mallikā-tārttīy-ēkshana-havyavāha-visaraj-jvālā-pradīpa-dyutah|sampūrnah
surasindhu tunga-lahari-vāri-pravāhair-asau Śambhu-
2. [r=ma]ngala-kumbha-vibhrama-padam-vi(b)bhrat=sadś pātu vah || 1 ³ || Ūrdhvi-
kritah surasarit-salil-āvagāhād=uddanda-chandātara-chāru-karō vibhātī(tē)⁴ | vra(bra)-
hmānda-mandala-mahōtpala-nāla-līlām=vi(b)bhrat=sa vō Ganapa-
3. tēr=avatād=ajasram || 2 ⁵ || Dēvah pīyūsha-dhārā-nikara-parigalad-vindu-sandōha-
kīrṇa-vyōm-āsā-chakravālō Madana-nripa-chamū-darppanah kairavānām | va(ba)ndhuh
sindhu-prasūtah sa jayati bhu-
4. van-ānanda-sambhāra-kandō lōlākshī-māna-mudrā-vighatana-patutām =āvahan
Śubhrabhānuh || 3 ⁶ || Tad-vamśē nripa-Chōda-Ganga-visarat-praudha-pratāp-ānala-
jvālā-santati-śānti-chanda-jala-
5. dah śrī-Ratnadēvō 'bhavat | bhūpālō 'khila-vanī-vira-vasudhā'dhīs-ōru-dōr-
vallarī-darppa-aika-druma-dāha dāva-dahanah śrī-mandiram sundarah || 4 ⁷ || Prithvi-
dēvas=tatō, 'bhūd=va(ba)lavād-ari-dharā-
6. nātha-nāgēndra-Tāikshyō ⁸ namrānām mauli-ratna-dyuti-bhara-vilasan-mallikā-
mālya-bhāraih | pūjy-āmhri-dvamdva-padmō nija-bhuja-vijaya-śrī-mahā-kēli-śailah
putrah sat-kshātra-kirtti-
7. vratati-tarur-ilā-mandal-ābhōga-bharttā || 5 ⁹ || Tasmāoh=Chēdī-kul-āvalam(v)a-
na-yu(ju)¹⁰shām = agiēsaiō bhūbhujām dōr-ddanda - dvaya-darppa-khandita - ripur=
Jājalladēvō 'bhavat | Tummān-ādhipatir=nnij-āmāla-

¹ From an impression supplied to me by Dr J Burgess

² The *akṣaras* in these brackets are broken away

³ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita

⁴ This correction appears to have been made already in the original

⁵ Metre, Vasantatilakā

⁶ Metre, Sragdharā

⁷ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita

⁸ Originally—*tārīkshō*

⁹ Metre, Sragdharā.

¹⁰ This correction appears to have been made already in the original

8. kula-pradyôta-dîp-ôpamah sat-kshâtr-aika-nidhîh pratâpa-taranîh sau(sau)ry-âj-
jita-śrîr=nrîpah ||6¹¹|| Manyê yad-dâna-śamkâ-janîta-bhaya-vaśâd=vallabhô nimnagânâm
dugdh-âv(b)dhîr=bhîma-garbha-sphu-
9 rad-uru-sahlê ratna-râsim=va(ba)bhâra | vâhân=Mârttanda-dêvas=tridaśa-
parivṛdhah [sva]rnnadi-tôya-durggê svarggê dâna-âm(v)b(u) dhâr-ôddhura-madhupa-
vadhû-mûlam=Airâvanañ=cha ||7¹²|| Râjyê mahîbbhuja=tasya
10. naya-vartm-ânusârini | [kshîr-ôpasargga-samsarggê praj-ânanda-vidhâyni ||8¹³||
Âsich=chhri-Ma dh yad êśê vitata-suranañi-vâri-pûr-ôrmu-mâlâ'lankârê hâra-bhûtê
nikhila-janapad-ô-
11. ddâma-bhû-mandalasya | grâmô ramy-ôru-bhûmir=dvijavara-vasatîh Kum bha-
[ti]-nâmadhêyô yatnât=svargg-aika-khanda-pratinidhîr=amalô nirmmîtô yô vidhâtrê ||9¹⁴||
Âtrêyas=tâvad=â-
12 dyas=tad=anu cha viditô=pp(py)=Ârchchanânô dvitîyah Sasyâvâsas¹⁵=tritîyah
pravara îha śubhais=tair=dvijô bhûshîtô 'bhût | Kîshnâtrêyasya gôtîê pianata-vasuma-
tîpâla-mâl-ô-
13. ttamânga-tvangad - ratn-ânkura-śrî-khachita-pada-yugas-tatra Prithvidhar-
âkhyah ||10|| Yah prajû-aika-viśâla-lôchana-putan = dhattê tritîyam sadâ sad-bhûtin-
(ñ)=cha tanôti yô nîja-tanau durvâra-mâr-â-
14 pahah | durgg-âślêsha-karô = ri-vâdi-nivahê putras=tatô 'bhûd=asau vi(bî)-
bhrânô dvijarâja-sundara-padam maulau sa Gangâdharah ||11¹⁶|| Tatah kâla-kramên=
âsau dêsam Tum mânânam = âgatah | guna-grâm-ârgji-
15 ta-praudha-lakshmir=dviya-śrômanîh || 12¹⁷|| Prakshâlya charan-âmbhâjê
Ratnadêvô mahîpatîh | Kôsamv(b)î-grâmam = êtasmlâ udakîkritya dattavân || 13 ||
Śrî-Gangâdharatah sutô 'janî jagad-vandy-aika-pâdô=
16 nujah praudh-ânanda-karah kalanka-rahîta sphâyât-kalânâm nidhîh | vi(bî)-
bhrânô dvijarâjatâm hata-jada-ślêsh-ôru-bhûri-prabhô dhâtî-mandala-mandanô vidhur-
asau śrî-Sômarâjô 'parah || 14¹⁸|| Mîmân(m)sâ-
17. dvaya-pâragô gurur=asau yah Kâśyapiyê nayê sâmkhyê ch = âpratimallatâ-
mada-nidhîs = try-akshîô 'kshapâd-ôkti-diik | yas = Ohârvâka-viśâla mânâ-malanô
durvâra-vau(bau)ddh-âm(v)b(u)dhêh pân-â-
18 nandita-Kumbhasambhava-munir=ddigvâsasâm=antakah || 15 || A-érântam
kratu-kunda-mandala-chalâd-dhûm-âvali-dhyâmalâ-vrôm-âśâ-valayam vilôkya vilasan-
nîl-âm(v)b(u)dh-âli-bhramât | vipr-âsy-êri-
19. ta-vêda-râśî-vitat-ôdghôsh-ôddhura yad-grihê sat-paksha-prasarâ natanti
patavô hrishtâ mubuh kêkinah || 16 || Bhîtô durgga-padam dadhâtî śikhari rukmasya
vârâm nidhê(dhî)h pâre kanta-
20. ki-pâdap-âvrita-vapur = bhîmaîs = cha simh-âdîbhîh | yad-dânâd = iva tikshna-
damshtira-vadana-prô[dgi]rnnâ-chañchad-vîsha-jvâlâ-jâla-karâla-[bhô]ga-patalê ratnânî
Śêshô = py-adhât ||17|| Rûpam viśva-jay-aishî-
21. nô Ratî-patê rukm-âchalâd=gauravam gâmbhîryam jaladhêh sahasra-kiranâd=
âsrântam=ôjasvitâm | aîsvaryam Smarasûdanasya paramam grâmam gunânâm=iva
grâham grâham = asau didri-

¹¹ Metre, Śârdûlavikrîdita¹² Metre, Sragdharâ¹³ Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh)¹⁴ Metre, Sragdharâ, and of the next verse.¹⁵ See note 29 on the translation below¹⁶ Metre, Śârdûlavikrîdita¹⁷ Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh), and of the next verse¹⁸ Metre, Śârdûlavikrîdita, and of the next five verses

22. kshur=asrijat=Padmôdbhavô yam bhuvi ||18|| Sapt-âmbhônidhi-tîra-vâriṇi
bhṛīsam yat-kirtti-hamsi muhur=bhrāmtv=âśrāntam=iyam sur-âlayam=agān=Mandâkini-
kāmāshi-

23. nī | bhuktā vā(bā)la-mrināla-nāla-śakalāny=uddāma-kām-ôtsukā vra(bra)-
hmānd-ôdara-bhānda-vārija-bhuvô iantum ma[dāt=sam]yayau ||19|| Vāt-âhati-chalat-
tāla-taralam jīvitam nrinām | chañcha-

24. lāñ = cha śriyam [ma]tvā dharmmô matim = adhād=vu(bu)dhah ||20¹⁹|| Tēna
Kédāra-dēvasya dhāma Mallāla-pattanē | dhimatā kārītam ramyam svayaśô-rāśi-
bhāsuram ||21|| Urvīm=ālingya pūrvam guru-

25. jaghana-ghan-âślēsha-lav (b) dha-pramôdām=état=kāsthā-vadhūnām dhvaja-
bhūja-valanaiḥ ślēsha-daksham samantāt | kām-vyāśa(sa)kta-chētā iva vivu(bu)dha-
purī-sundarīnām samakshē tyakta-vrīdam nikāmam gagana-parisarah Śrī-

26. mukham chumv(b)at=iva ||22²⁰|| Kāśyapīy-âkshapādīya-naya-siddhānta-vēdinā |
vipaksha-vādi-simhēna Ratnasimhēna dhimatā ||23²¹|| Śrī-Rāghav-ân(m)hri-kamal-
āmv(b)udhar-âbhishēka-lav(b)dh-ôdaya-pratata-śā-

27. kha-mahīruhēna | Vāstavya-vamśa-kamal-âkara-bhānūn=ēyam | Māmē-
sutēna rachitā ruchirā prasastih ||24²²|| Iyam Sahasrārjuna-vamśajēna kutūhalāt=ksha-
triya-pungavēna | Kumārāpā-

28. lēna gun-âbhirāma-rām=ēva ramyā likhitā prasastih ||25²³|| Anēka-śilpar-
nirmāṇa-payôdhēh pāra-drīśvanā | utkirnnā rūpakārēna Sāmpulēn=ēyam-âdarāt ||26²⁴||
Samvat 919[||*].

TRANSLATION.

Om! Om!

Adoration to Śiva!

(Verse 1.)—May that Sambhu always protect you!—he who, wearing on his head, like water-lilies,²⁵ a mass of branded hair, (and) spreading around the lustre of a blazing lamp with the fire of his third eye which, as on a lamp-stand, is on his broad forehead, (and) covered with the streams of water of the high waves of the celestial river, possesses the beauty of an auspicious jar!

(V. 2.)—May that lovely trunk of Ganapati for ever guard you!—which at day-break, when lifted out of the waters of the celestial river into which it has been dipped, raised up and threatening, possesses a charm as if it were the stalk of the great lotus—the circle of the universe!

(V. 3.)—Triumphant is that god with white rays, (the moon), born from the ocean, (who is) the root of great joy to the world, (and) possesses skill in removing the haughty reserve that closes (the hearts of) tremulous-eyed women; who covers the circle of the regions of the sky with a mass of drops trickling down from a multitude of streams of nectar, (who is) the mirror of the army of the king Love, (and) the friend of the night-lotuses.

(V. 4.)—In his race there was, beautiful (and) an habitation of Fortune, the protector of the earth, the illustrious Ratnadēva; a fierce cloud to extinguish the

²⁵ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh), and of the next verses.

²⁶ Metre, Bragdhārā.

²⁷ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh)

²⁸ Metre, Vasantatilakā.

²⁹ Metre, Upajāti

³⁰ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh)

³¹ I cannot quote any other passage in which the word *ambū-pallava* is used in the sense assigned to it here

continuously raging flames of the spreading mighty fire of the prowess of Chôda and Ganga princes,²⁶ (and) a blazing fire to consume the unique tree of the pride in their creeper-like long arms of all the hostile heroic rulers of the earth.

(V. 5)—After him came his son Prithvidêva, a master of the whole extent of the terrestrial globe, who to the mighty hostile lords of the earth was what Garuda is to the serpent-chiefs, whose two lotus-feet²⁷ were an object of worship for (*princes*) bent down with the weight of jasmine wreaths glittering with the great splendour of their crest-jewels, a high pleasure-mount for the glory of victory of his own arm; a tree for the creeping-plant fame of excellent royalty.

(V. 6)—From him was born the prince Jājalladêva, the leader of the princes who delight in keeping up the Chêdi family, who by the pride of his two massive arms annihilated the enemies, the ruler of Tummāna, illumining like a lamp his own spotless family, a unique treasury of excellent royalty, a sun of prowess, who has acquired fortune by his heroism

(V. 7).—I fancy that through fear, produced by the suspicion that they would have to give (*them*) to him, the ocean of milk, the husband of the rivers, kept (*his*) mass of jewels in the deep water agitated by the fear-inspiring (*beasts*) within it, and the sun-god (*his*) horses, and the lord of the gods (Indra) his elephant, who enlivens rows of female bees with streams of rutting-juice, in the heavens rendered impassable by the waters of the celestial river.

(V. 8)—In the reign of this prince, which follows the path of good government, is free from the contact of troubles, (and) causes joy to the people.²⁸

(V. 9).—There was in the glorious Madhyadêśa, ornamented by the garland of the waves of the streams of water of the extended river of the gods, (and *itself*) as it were the necklace of the whole orb of the earth crowded with countries, a village named Kumbhatī, with pleasant broad lands, a dwelling-place of the best of the twice-born, which the creator had exerted himself to make the spotless counterpart of a portion of heaven.

(V. 10).—In that (*village*) there was a twice-born named Prithvidhara, in the *gôtra* of Krishnâtrêya, ornamented with the (*three*) auspicious *pravaras*, Âtrêya the first, and after him the famous Ârchanâna the second, (and) Sasyâvâsa²⁹ the third, whose pair of feet was covered with the lustre of the jewels which like sprouts were trembling on the heads of rows of protectors of the earth bowing down (*before him*).

(V. 11).—From him there was born a son, that Gangâdhara who, bearing on his head the beautiful title of 'king of the twice-born,' always had knowledge as a third unique large eye; (and) who, warding off the irresistible passion of love, secured for himself excellent welfare; (*who*) in a crowd of hostile disputants resorted to (*arguments*) difficult to be met, (resembling Śiva Gangâdhara, who, having on his

²⁶ In the original one would have expected *Chôda-Gaṅga-nṛipa*, instead of *nṛipa-Chôda-Gaṅga*, but that would not have suited the metre

²⁷ Here, too, one would have expected *pādy āhhrī padma-dvāṇḍvô*, instead of *pādy āhhrī dvāṇḍva padmô*, but that again would have offended against the metre

²⁸ This verse defines the time when the temple, mentioned in verse 21, was built, and it has no reference to the verse immediately following here

²⁹ I leave these names as they are given in the original. According to the *Āṣvalāyana śrauta sūtra*, Cole Ed., p. 888, and the *Dharma sūdhā*, Bo Ed., p. 371, they really are Âtrôya, Ârchanâna, and Śyâvâśva. It is evident that the writer of the inscription, who undoubtedly took the second name to be Ârchanâna, understood the third name to be Sasyâvâsa, joining the syllable *sa*, which belongs to the second name, to the third.

crest a spot beautified by the moon, possesses a large third eye; who annihilated the irresistible god of love, spreads excellent ashes over his body, and embraces Durgā).

(V. 12.)—Then that crest-jewel of the twice-born, who had acquired great fortune by the collection of his good qualities, in the course of time came to the country Tumimāna.

(V. 13.)—To him the lord of the earth Ratnadēva gave, after he had washed his lotus-feet, the village of Kōsambi, (*confirming his gift by the*) pouring out (*of*) water.

(V. 14.)—From the illustrious Gangādhara there was born, as a younger son, that illustrious Sōmarāja whose unique feet are an object of adoration for the people, causing great joy, free from blemishes, a treasury-house of numerous arts, who holds the position of king of the twice-born, is possessed of wide and abundant splendour inasmuch as he avoids the company of the dull, (*and*) is an ornament of the orb of the earth; (*being*) freed from its spot, a second moon (whose rays are an object of adoration for the world, which causes great joy, is the receptacle of growing digits, bears the name of 'king of the twice-born,' which, united with miserable cold, is spreading its splendour far and wide, and is an ornament to the orb of the earth).

(V. 15.)—That venerable person, who is a treasury of the pride of having no rival in the doctrine of Kāśyapa and in the Sāmkhya, has completely mastered the two Mīmāṃsās, (*like Śiva*) he is possessed of three eyes inasmuch as he has for his eye the teaching of 'Akshapāda. He crushed the great conceit of Chārvāka, delighted the pitcher-born sage (*Agastya*) by drinking up the difficult-to-be-restrained Bauddha ocean, (*and is*) a god of death to the Digambaras.²⁰

(V. 16.)—At his house dexterous peacocks, delighted when they see the circle of the regions of the sky incessantly blackened by lines of smoke rising from groups of sacrificial fire-pits, which they mistake to be lines of black clouds moving about, dance again and again with spread-out wings, enlivened by the long-drawn sound of Vedic texts recited by the mouths of Brāhmins (*which they mistake for thunder*).

(V. 17.)—Afraid as it were of having to give (*their precious stones*) to him, the mountain of gold keeps an impervious place, the ocean has itself guarded at the shores by thorny trees and by lions and other terrific beasts, (*and*) Śēsha even places his jewels in the multitude of his hoods, terrible with the sheets of flickering poison-flames ejected by the mouth with sharp fangs.

(V. 18.)—Him that lotus-born (*Brahman*) created, desirous as it were of seeing on the earth the most excellent collection of good qualities, after he had severally taken, beauty from the lord of Ratī desiring to conquer the universe, gravity from the mountain of gold, depth from the ocean, never-ceasing²¹ splendour from the thousand-rayed (*sun*, *and*) the lordly nature of (Śiva) the destroyer of the god of love.

(V. 19.)—The swan of his fame, having frequently again and again roamed about by the water on the shores of the seven oceans, unweariedly went to the abode of the gods, longing for the heavenly Ganges; (*and*) having eaten (*there*) tender lotus-fibres and pieces of lotus-stalks, it has, pining with excessive longing, rapturously come, to enjoy itself, to the lotus-grounds of the interior of the vessel-like egg of Brahman²²

²⁰ On Kāśyapa, as another name of Kanāda, the founder of the Vaiśēṣika school of philosophy,—see Cowell's Translation of *The Aphorisms of Sāṅkhya*, Preface, p. v.—Akshapāda is Gōtama, the founder of the Nyāya system. The sage Agastya is fabled to have swallowed the ocean.

²¹ In the original the adverb *asrāntam* is made to qualify the substantive *śaśvatām*, contrary to the rules of grammar.

²² In the original one would have expected *brahmāṇḍa bhāṇḍa* *śāra*, instead of *brahmāṇḍ-śāra bhāṇḍa*.

(V. 20)—Having reflected that the life of man is unsteady like a tuft of grass which moves when struck by the wind, and that fortune is fickle, he, the wise, set his mind on religion

(V. 21)—Possessed of intelligence, he caused to be built at the town of Mallāla a charming temple of the god Kédāra, resplendent like the accumulation of his own fame.

(V. 22)—Having first embraced the earth, which derived pleasure from the close embrace of his heavy thighs, the surrounding sky, having as it were the heart filled with love, void of bashfulness within sight of the beautiful damsels of the city of the gods eagerly kisses, as if it were the face of Fortune, this (*temple*) fit to be embraced on all sides by the encircling banner-like arms of the women of the regions.

(Verses 23 and 24)—This pleasing eulogy has been composed by the son of Māmē, the intelligent Ratnasimha, who knows the established truths of the doctrines of Kāśyapa and of Akshapāda, (*and is*) a lion to opponent disputants, who owes his elevation, as a tree with wide-spread branches does its growth to showers from clouds, to the lotus-feet of the illustrious Rāghava; ²² (*and who is*) to the Vāstavya race (*what*) the sun (*is*) to a group of lotuses.

(V. 25)—This eulogy, charming like a woman who is pleasing by her good qualities, has been eagerly written by the excellent Kshatriya Kumārapāla, born in the Sahasrārjuna race.

(V. 26)—Engraved it has been with care by the sculptor Sāmpula, who has seen the opposite bank of the ocean of various mechanical arts.

The year 919.

VII—RATNAPUR INSCRIPTION OF PRITHVIDEVA, OF THE (VIKRAMA)YEAR 1247 (?).

By PROF F. KIELHORN, Ph.D., C.I.E., GOTTINGEN.

This inscription is on a black stone, which was discovered within the fort of Ratnapur in the Central Provinces,¹ and is now in the Nāgpur Museum.

The inscription consists of 24 lines. The writing originally covered a space of about 2' 5½" broad by 1' 1" high; at present, a portion of the proper left side, all the way down, and the lower right corner of the stone, are broken away, so that altogether about ninety *aksharas* are missing. The stone evidently was less injured when Dr. Rājendralāl's rubbing was taken. What remains of the inscription is well preserved.—The size of the letters is about ⅜".—The characters are Dēvanāgarī.—The language is Sanskrit, and, excepting the introductory blessing and the date at the end, the inscription is in verse. The verses are numbered, and their total number is 30. They were composed by Dēvagana, son of Ratnasimha, written by Kumārapāla, or, as he is called here, Kumārapāla; and engraved by Sāmpula (verses 26–28).—In respect of orthography we have to note the employment of the dental for the palatal sibilant in *sundā*, line 2, *saurya*, line 6, *Sachī*, line 10, *sāśvatē*, line 18, and *sikhara*, line 19;

²² It will appear from the next inscription, that Rāghava was the younger brother of Māmē, and therefore the paternal uncle of Ratnasimha.

¹ Cunningham's *Arch. Sur. Reports*, Vol. VII, p 215. It has been edited before, by Dr Rājendralāl Mitra, in the *Journal As. Soc. of Bengal*, Vol XXXII, pp 277–279, 280–287.

the use of the dental *n* instead of the *anusvāra* in *arātansāh*, line 4, the employment of the *upadhāniya* in *puhparantau*, line 17, the exceptional denotation of *ñcha* by the sign for *ncha* in *chancharikah*, line 11, *lincha*, line 13, and *chakran=cha*, line 23; and the non-observance of the rules of Samdhī in *dhavalam=vilōhya*, line 12, and *īdam=vidagdhō*, line 20. The consonant *ḍ* is throughout denoted by the sign for *ṣ*.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of a prince Prithvidēva, son and successor of the Ohēdī prince [Ratnadēva], the vanquisher of Chōḍa and Ganga champions, who was the son and successor of a prince Jājalladēva, of the lunar race (verses 4-6). And it records (in verse 24) the erection, at the village of Sāmḃā, of a Śiva-temple by one Dēvagana, the glorification of whom and whose ancestors, wives, and children fills just half the number of verses of the inscription (verses 8-22). The great-grandfather of Dēvagana, Gōvinda, of the [Vāstavya] race, had come from the Ohēdī *mandala* to Tummāna, the country ruled over by the above-mentioned princes. Gōvinda had two sons, Māmē and Rāghava; and Māmē's son again was Ratnasimha, the father of Dēvagana. This Dēvagana, the founder of the temple, himself composed, as we have seen above, this very inscription; and his father Ratnasimha is the author of the preceding Malhār inscription, dated [Chēdī-] Samvat 919=A. D. 1167-1168.

According to Dr. Rājēndralāl Mitra, the inscription is dated in [Vikrama-] Samvat 1207=A. D. 1149-50. But, on the rubbing before me, the figures (scratched on the stone rather than properly engraved, and perhaps added some time after the inscription itself was engraved) look certainly more like 1247 than 1207. Besides, a comparison of the verses 3, 8, 12, 20, and 22 of the Malhār inscription of [Chēdī-] Samvat 919=A. D. 1167-68 with the verses 3, 7, 8, 23, and 25 of the present Ratnapur inscription, as well as some minor resemblances, show that the author of this inscription, Dēvagana, had his father's Malhār inscription before him when he wrote his own composition. Taking further into consideration that this inscription eulogizes five of the grandchildren of Ratnasimha, the composer of the Malhār inscription, I feel certain that it has been composed considerably later than A. D. 1167-68=Vikrama-Samvat 1225, and I think it probable that the figures at the end of it are really Vikrama-Samvat 1247=A. D. 1189-90, and that these figures, by whom and whensoever added, furnish a true date for the prince Prithvidēva, in whose reign the inscription was composed. How well this date agrees with the other known dates of the earlier rulers of Ratnapur, may be seen from the following list of those rulers, which has been compiled from the three inscriptions here published, and from the Rājīm inscription of Jagapāla.—

- (1) Kalīṅgarāja.
- (2) Kamalarāja
- (3) Ratnarāja (or Ratnēśa)
- (4) Prithvīa (or Prithvidēva)
- (5) Jājalla (or Jājalladēva), according to the first inscription here published, [Chēdī-] Samvat 866=A. D. 1111
- (6) Ratnadēva
- (7) Prithvidēva, according to the Rājīm inscription, Kulachuri-Pūrvatsarē 890=A. D. 1145; and, according to *Archæol. Survey of India*, Volume XVII, Plate xx, Kulachuri-samvat-ara 910=A. D. 1158-59
- (8) Jājalladēva, according to the second inscription here published, [Chēdī-] Samvat 919=A. D. 1167-68.

- (9) Ratnadēva, according to *Archæol Survey of India*, Volume XVII, page 43, line 4 from the bottom, and Plate XX, Chēdi-Samvat 933=A D. 1181-82.
- (10) Prithvidēva, according to the present inscription, [Vikrama-]Samvat 1247 (?)=A D. 1189-90 (?)

TEXT.²

1. [Om³] ōm namah Śivāya || Bhōg-īndrō nayana-śru[ti]h katham=asau drashtum kshamō nau bhavéd=ēshā chandra-kalā[=pi śaisāya-daśām=āsādyā nau ?]⁴ — ॐ — ॐ —
— ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ —
- 2 ram Śailasutā-pravō(bō)dhana-parō Rudrō ratē pātu vah || 1⁵ || Sat-sindūra-viśāla-pāmsu-patal-ābhyakt-aika-kumbha-sthalah su(śu)ndā-tāndava-mandit-ākṣhīla-nabhō-din-manda[p-ādām(b)a] — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ —
3. mīruha-vyūh-ōnmūlana-kēlir=astu bhavatām bhūtyai Ganagrāmanih || 2 || Dēvah piyūsha-dhārā-drava-kara-nīkar-ākṛānta-dīk-chakravālas=trailōky-ākṛānti-nīryan-Madana-nripa-chamū-darppan-ābhōga-[lakshmi] — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ —
- 4 yatī sura-vadhū-īatna-karnn-āwatan(m)sah Śubhūāmśuh praudha-rāmā-hṛdaya-griguhā-mana-sarvramkasha-śrīh || 3⁶ || Tad-vamśē bhuja-danda-mandala-mad-ākṛānta-trilōki-talō vi(bi)[bhr]ānah sura-sārtha-nātha-padavīm=uddā⁷ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ —
5. nidhi-mēkhālā-valayita-kshōnī-vadhū-vallabhī bhūpālō bhuvan-aika-bhūshana-manir = Jājalladēvō 'bhavat || 4⁸ || Tasmāch=Chēdi-narēndra-durddama-chamū-chakra-aika-vārāmnidhēs=tīrr-aurva-jvalanō 'janīkṣta tanayah⁹ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ —
6. rrr-ākṣhai rrita-Chōda-Ganga-subhata-sphār-ēndu-vi (bi) -mv (b) a-graha-grāsē Rāhur = ananta-sau(śau)rya-mahim-āscharyō mahī-mandalē || 5 || Sarppat-pūrnna-śaśānka-dhāma-dhavalā-sphāyad-yaśō-janmabhūr=udyat-tīvratara-pratāpa-taranih sat-kshā[tra]¹⁰ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ —
7. yāta-diganta-vandi-nivah-ābhīstārtha-chintāmanih Prithvidēva-narēśvarō 'sya tanayah śrīmān=abhūd=bhū-talē || 6 || Rājyē bhūmibhujō 'sy=aiva naya-mārgg-ānusāri-ni | kshīn-ōpasargga-samsarggē praj-ānanda-vīdhāyini || 7¹¹ || Vā¹²
- 8 r=Ggōvindaś=Chēdi-mandalāt | kriti kālā-kramēn=āsau dēsan=Tummānam-āga-tah || 8 || Putras=tasya jan-ānurāga-jaladhīr=bhūbhrit-sabhā-bhūshanō jyāyān-pandita-pundarika-taranir=Māmē'bhīdhānō 'bhavat | yō dhātrī-talākō [ni]¹³ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ —
- 9 l-ālankāra-hār-ōpamō vikhyātas=Tripurāntak-aika-charan-āmbhōj-aika-bhringō bhuvī || 9¹⁴ || Bhṛatā śrī-Rāghavō 'mushya kanyān=guna-sāgarah | nāgarō bhuvan-ābhōga-bhūshā Pūsh-ōpamō va(ba)bhau || 10¹⁵ || Śrī-Māmē-tanayah samastajaga[tī]¹⁶ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ —
- 10 rnna-kīrnna-sphurat-kund-ēndu-dyuti- kīrtti-santatī -latā-vyāsakta- din-mandapah | rājaty=unmada-vādi-vrinda-dalanō līlā-vihārah śrīyah śīl-āchāra-vi[vē]ka-punya-nīlayah śrī-Ratnasīmhaḥ kavīh || 11¹⁷ || Sa(śa)ch=īva Jishnōr=Ggūrij=ē[va]¹⁸ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ —

² From an impression supplied to me by the Director of the Archaeological Survey of India

³ This is expressed by a symbol

⁴ Of the *akṣharas* in these brackets only the lower portions can be recognised in the impression

⁵ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, and of the next verse

⁶ Metre, Sṛgādhārā

⁷ Dr Rājendralāl has read here *madhaisryyāmbudhī* l sa, and it is easy to conjecture that the following lost *akṣharas* were *pīdmbhō*

⁸ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, and of the next two verses

⁹ Dr Rājendralāl has read here *śrī Ratnadēvō nripa(pāḥ)*.

The last syllable of the line I suppose to have been *ga*

¹⁰ Dr Rājendralāl has read here *dāharmāmāmbudhī* l nā[nd]

¹¹ Metre, Ślōka (Anushṭubh), and of the next verse

¹² Dr Rājendralāl has read here *staryavānśatubhārdhā* [śu]

¹³ Dr Rājendralāl has read here *jāmala* [ku]

¹⁴ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita

¹⁵ Metre, Ślōka (Anushṭubh)

¹⁶ Dr Rājendralāl has read here *vi[stf]*

¹⁷ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita

¹⁸ The missing syllable is of course *Sa*.

11. mbhôr=Dugdhâv(b)dhi-putr=iva cha Chakrapânêh | sâdhvî sadâ va(ba)ndhu-
jan-âbhipûjyâ Rambh=êti nâma'bhavad=asya patnî ||12¹⁹|| Tâbhyâm=ajâyata jagat traya-
ghushṭa-kirttar = âkhandit-âri-vu(bu)dha-mandala-chanda-darppah | Chandîsa-châru-
charan-âmv(b)uja-chan(ñ)charikah pra[jñâ]-pa—

12. r=îha Dêvaganas=tanûjah || 13²⁰|| Êtad=yasya jagad=yasôbhur=abhitô dindîra-
pinda-prabhaur=âkrântan=dhavalam(m)=vilôkya nikhilam gôp-ânganâ-vikshitah | Kâ-
lindî-brada-Kâlanêmi-dalana-prârambha-vitâdaras=tîrê tâmyati Vâmrâsi-tanayâ.²¹

13. ttô=pi jâta-bhramah ||14²²|| Piyûsha-drava-sândra-vindu-vasatir=yasy=âsya vâk-
chandrikâ vidvach-chakra-chakôra-chañchu-putakaur=âpiyamân=ânîsam | kin(ñ)ch=
âya[m] kara-pañjarô 'khûla-milan-nânâ-digant-ârtinâm bhûyô 'bhishṭa-phala-pradâna-
chatura[h] svâdhî[na]—²³

14. Ipadrumah ||15|| Ohamdrik=êva sîsir-âmsu-mâlinô mañjar=iva sura-mêdinîru-
hah | kântî-nirjîta-surânganâ-ganâ tasya sâdhu-charitâ vadhûh Prabhâ || 16²⁴|| Jâ[mh]ô-
nâmnî dvitîy=âsya vilâsa-vasatîh priyâ | amita-prêma-vâ(bâ)hulyâ[d=dvî].²⁵

15. yam prâna-mandiram || 17²⁶|| Lâvany-âpratimallatâ-mada-bharâ Maulîmdunâ
krôdhatô dagdhasy=âpi Manôbhavasya bhuvanê vidy=êva sañjivani | sat-saubhâgya-gun-
aika-garvva-vasatîh prân-âdhikâ prêyasi yâm nirmâyâ Sarôjabhûh pramudî.²⁷

16. prâptah parâm nirvritim ||18²⁸|| Avô(bô)dha-dhvânta-santâna-kavi(rî)-kumbha-
vidâraṇah | Jagatsimbô 'sya tanayah simhavat=bhuvî râjatê ||19²⁹|| Târak-ârir=asau Śaila-
sutâ-sûnur=ayam punah | sutô Râyarasimbô 'sya va(ba)ndhu-varggasya târakah
||20 []||

17. Bhôp=âsya duhitâ sâdhvî kali-kâla-vichêstatah | a-sprîstâ svar-ddhun=iv=
êyam bhuvana-traya-pâvani || 21 || Vâlbû-śrî-Dêvadâs-âkhyau va(ba)ddha-sakhyau paras-
param | jagad-ud[d*]yôtakau bhâtah puhpavantâv=iv=âmv (b) arê ||22|| Vât-ôddhâtî-
[vi]-

18. lôla-tûla-taralam nrinâm=idam jîvitam lakshmîm ghôra-ghan-ântarâla vilasad-
vidyud-vilâs-ôpamâm | matv=aitad-durit-augha-dâru-dalana-piôddâma-dâv-ânalê śra-
ddhâm=uddhata-dharmma-vu(bu)ddhir=akarôch=chhrêyah-pathê sâ(śâ)svatê ||23³⁰|| Cha-
krê Dêva[ga]-

19. nô dhâma Vi(bi)lvapâni-pinâkinah | Sâmv(b)â-grâmê tushâr-âdri sî(śi)khar-
âbhôga-bhâsuram ||24³¹|| Nânâ-bhûpâla-bhukta-kshiti-jaghana-ghan-âslêsha-tôshâd=iv=
âdau dig-vâmâ-kâma-pîdâ-tarala-tanu-guru-ślêsha-lipsam samantâ[t i]

20. kâm=iv=êdam(m)=vidagdhô virachita-parama-prêma-hâsam tvarâvat=svarvâ-
mânâm samaksham gagana-parisara[h] Śrî-mukham chumv(b)at=iva ||25³²|| Nihêsh-
âgama-śuddha-vô(bô)dha-vibhavah kâvyêshu yô bha[vya]-dhih sat-tarkk-âmv(b)udhi-
pâragô Bhṛigu-su-³³

21. [yô] danda-nîtau matah | ohhandô'lankriti-śav(b)da-manmatha-kalâ-sâstr-âv-
(b)ja-chandadyutîs=chakrê Dêvaganah prasastim=amalâ[m]śrî-Ratnasimb-âtmajah ||26³⁴||
Yah kâvya-karava vikâsana-śitarasmir=uddâma-vu(bu)ddhi-nîlayô'³⁵

¹⁹ Metre, Upajâti

²⁰ Metre, Vasantatîlaka.

²¹ The missing syllable I suppose to be *ya*

²² Metre, Śârdûlavikrîdita, and of the next verse

²³ The missing syllable is *ka*.

²⁴ Metre, Ratbôddhatâ

²⁵ The missing syllable is *î*

²⁶ Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh)

²⁷ The missing syllable I take to be *taḥ*.

²⁸ Metre, Śârdûlavikrîdita.

²⁹ Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh), and of the next three verses.

³⁰ Metre, Śârdûlavikrîdita

³¹ Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh)

³² Metre, Sragdharâ

³³ The missing syllable is *tô*.

³⁴ Metre, Śârdûlavikrîdita

³⁵ Dr Râjendralâl has read here the syllable *va*, and for the beginning of the next line he supplies *ni*

22. ॐ pāla-sūnuh ! vidyā-vilāsa-vasatir=vvimalām prasastim śrīmān=imām Kuma-
ra-pāla-vu(bu)dhō līlêkha ||27³⁶|| Praśastir=iyam=utkīrnnā ruchir=ākshara-pamktibhīh !
dhimatā sūtradhārēna Sāmpulēna manōrama ||[28³⁷]]³⁸
23. . . [D]ēva[ga]nāv=ētau rūpakāra-śrōmanī ! chakratur=ghatanān=dhāmnō
Vī(bu)lvapāni-pinākinah ||29|| Chandr-ārkkau kīran-āvalī-valayitam yāvad=vidhattāñ³⁹=
jagad=din-mātanga-ghat ōpavṛimhita-dharā-chakran(ñ)=cha kū-
24. ॐ ॐ ! nakshatra-prakar-ōru-hāralatikā'lankāra-sāram nabhas=tvat-kīrttir=
Mmadanān-mandira-mishāt=tāvaah-chiram nandatu ||30⁴⁰||
[Samvat 1247]⁴¹

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Om !

Adoration to Śiva !

(Verse 1.)—May Rudra protect you !—he who at the sexual enjoyment eagerly [thus] speaks to (*Pārvatī*), the daughter of the mountain. 'How should that lord of serpents, who uses his eyes as ears, be able to see us ? And [how should] this crescent moon [too, reduced to a state of infancy] !'

(V. 2)—May Ganapati grant you prosperity !—he who has the surface of his unique frontal globes anointed with broad sheets of the powder of excellent red-lead ; who with the dance of his trunk beautifies the [immense] pavilion of all the regions of heaven, . . . play of uprooting groups of [trees] !

(V. 3)—[Triumphant] is the god with white rays, (the Moon), who covers the circle of the regions with a mass of rays flowing with streams of nectar, is beautiful as if he were the extensive mirror of the army of the king Love marching out to conquer the three worlds ; is the ear-ornament of the gems of celestial damsels, (and) whose loveliness completely takes away the proud reserve of the hearts, (deep) like mountain eaves, of haughty women.

(V. 4)—In his race there was the protector of the earth Jājalladēva, who, having by the pride of the group of his massive arms taken possession of the extent of the three worlds, was holding the position of (Indra,) the lord of the host of the gods, the favourite husband of his wife, the earth, surrounded with the girdle of the . . . oceans, a unique jewel to ornament the world.

(V. 5.)—From him there was born a son, [the illustrious prince Ratnadēva ?], who was the fierce submarine fire of the unique ocean of the array of the difficult-to-be-subdued armies of the Chēdi princes, who to the Chōda and Ganga champions elated

³⁶ Metre, Vasantatilakā³⁷ Metre, Ślōka (Anshṭubh), and of the next verse.³⁸ The figure in brackets is broken away³⁹ Read vidhattō⁴⁰ Metre, Śardūlavikrīdita.

⁴¹ This date has not been written by the writer of the inscription, who [forms his numeral figures differently, and it appears to be scratched on the stone rather than properly engraved. Of the four figures, the first, second, and last are quite distinct, the third figure is indistinct, but it decidedly looks more like 4 than 0. An examination of the stone may possibly show, that the inscription originally was dated in a year of the Chēdi era, for, in the impression, the first syllable of the word *śamva*, which precedes the figures 1247 (P), looks as if it had been put in the place of the figure 9, or as if that figure had been altered so as to assume the form of *śam*.

with [conceit] was, what Rāhu is to the full orb of the moon, when he seizes and swallows it; (*and*) the marvellous might of whose heroism had no bounds on the orb of the earth.

(V. 6.)—Then there came on this earth his son, the ruler of men, the illustrious Prithvidēva; the birth-place of increasing fame, white like the spreading lustre of the full moon, a sun from which is proceeding most intense brilliancy; ... of excellent royalty; a gem which yields the desired objects to crowds of panegyrists from the (*various*) quarters, come

(V. 7.)—In the reign of this very prince, which follows the path of good government, is free from the contact of troubles, (*and*) causes joy to the people —⁴²

(V. 8.)—In the course of time the learned Gōvinda, the [moon of the] Vā[stavya race, ?] came from the Chādi *mandala* to the country Tummāṇa.

(V. 9.)—He had an elder son, named Māmē, an ocean of the affection of the people, embellishing the assemblies of princes, to learned men what the sun is to lotuses; who, an ornament of the earth, as it were a pearl-string to decorate [his] was famous the earth over as the unique bee of the unique lotus-feet of (Śiva,) the destroyer of Tripura.

(V. 10.)—His younger brother was the illustrious Rāghava, an ocean of good qualities; clever, an ornament of the expanse of the earth, he was endowed with splendour like the sun.

(V. 11.)—Resplendent is the son of the illustrious Māmē, the illustrious Ratnasimha, the poet; the creeper of whose brilliant expanding fame, shining like jasmine and like the moon, [spreading over] and covering the entire world, is entwined with the pavilion of the regions; who scattered crowds of crazed disputants, (*and was*) the pleasure garden of Fortune, (*and*) the home of virtuous conduct, discernment, and religious merit.

(V. 12.)—He had a virtuous wife, always an object of reverence for the kinsfolk, named Rambhā; who was (*to him*) what Śachī is to Indra, what (Pārvatī) the daughter of the mountain is to Śambhu, and what (*Lakshmi*) the daughter of the ocean of milk is to (Vishnu), who holds the discus in his hand.

(V. 13.)—From these two there was born here a son, Dēvagana, whose fame has been proclaimed in the three worlds; who has broken the excessive conceit of crowds of learned opponents; a bee (*hovering*) round the dear lotus-feet of (Śiva) the husband of Chandi, (*and*) a of knowledge.

(V. 14.)—Having seen this whole world on all sides filled (*and*) whitened by his fame, shining like the foam of the sea, (Vishnu) even, [the beloved] of the daughter of the ocean, watched by the milk-maids, becomes confused; (*and*) having his attention withdrawn from the undertaking of destroying Kālanēmi⁴³ in the waters of the Kāhndī, he stands motionless by the shore.

(V. 15.)—His words are always (*eagerly received*) by crowds of learned men, as the moonlight, the habitation of abundant drops of the nectar-liquid, is drunk by the round beaks of Chakōra birds; and this cage-like hand of his, dexterous in giving plenti-

⁴² Like verse 8 of the preceding inscription, this verse defines the time when the temple, mentioned in verse 24, was built, and it has no reference to the verse immediately following here.

⁴³ Compare *Raghuvamśa*, XV, 40, Bo Ed, note.

fully the wished-for fruits to all the supplicants of the various quarters, crowding together, holds in subjection the tree of paradise.

(V. 16.)—What the moonlight is to the (*moon*) garlanded with cool rays, (*and*) the cluster of blossoms to the tree of the gods, that to him is his wife of virtuous conduct, Prabhā, who by her loveliness has surpassed the crowd of celestial women.

(V. 17.)—A second dear wife he has, named Jāmhô, a habitation of graceful charms from the intensity of (*his*) boundless love a second home of (*his*) life.

(V. 18.)—Full of the pride of having no rival in loveliness; being as it were the science of reviving on earth the god of love, even though he was wrathfully burnt by (*Śiva*) who wears the moon on his crest;⁴⁴ a habitation of the unique pride of the excellencies of sterling beauty,—the dear one was more (*to him*) than life; she, having created whom the lotus-born (*Brahman*), filled with delight, obtained supreme happiness.

(V. 19.)—Resplendent on the earth is his son Jagatsimha, 'the lion of the world,' who dispels the expanding darkness of ignorance, as a lion cleaves the frontal globes of elephants.

(V. 20.)—That (*Ślanda*, *the*) son of the daughter of the mountain, is the enemy of Tāraka; but this son of *his*, Rāyarasimhā, is the preserver of the whole body of relations.⁴⁵

(V. 21.)—This virtuous daughter of his, Bhôpā, untouched by the doings of the Kali-age, like the river of heaven, is purifying the three worlds.

(V. 22.)—(*His*) two (*children*) named Vālhā and the illustrious Dêvadāsa, united in mutual friendship, are shining, illumining the world like sun and moon in the sky.

(V. 23.)—Having reflected that this life of man is unsteady like a tuft of grass which trembles when shaken by the wind, and that fortune resembles the play of lightning flashing in the midst of terrific clouds, the exceedingly virtuous-minded (*Dêvagana*) put his faith in the eternal path of beatitude, which is a mighty blazing fire to burn the wood of this multitude of evils here.

(V. 24.)—At the village of Sāmbā, Dêvagana built (*to Śiva*), the bearer of the Pināka, who has a Bilva-staff in his hand, a temple, resplendent like the extensive peaks of (*Himālaya*) the mountain of snow.

(V. 25.)—First gratified, as it were, with the close embrace of the thighs of the earth, enjoyed by many princes, the surrounding sky, like a clever lover, accompanying his action with a smile of extreme love, eagerly within sight of the damsels of heaven kisses, as if it were the face of Fortune, this (*temple*) desirous of receiving⁴⁶ on all sides the heavy embrace of the bodies, trembling with the pangs of love, of the women of the regions.

(V. 26.)—The son of the illustrious Ratnasimha, Dêvagana, whose wealth of learning is purified by every traditional knowledge, (*and*) who possesses an excellent turn of mind for poetry; who has gone to the further shore of the ocean of the science of reasoning, (*and*) is esteemed as Bhṛigu's son in the administration of justice; who to the sciences of metres, rhetorics, grammar, of love, and of the arts, is what the sun is to lotuses,—he has composed (*this*) spotless eulogy.

⁴⁴ The usual form of the name is *Indu-mauli*, not, as in the text, *Maulindu*

⁴⁵ The play on the word *tāraka* is lost in the translation

⁴⁶ *Lipā* in the original, I take to be used for *lipsu*, it is similarly used in a passage of the *Kathāsaritsagara*, quoted in B & R's Dictionary, s v *lipā*

(V. 27.)—The son of [Avani-?]pāla, the illustrious learned Kumarapāla,⁴⁷ (*who is*) a moon in causing the lotus of poetry to open, a home of unlimited intelligence, (*and*) a habitation of the play of learning, has written this stainless eulogy.

(V. 28.)—This pleasing eulogy, charming with its rows of letters, has been engraved by the intelligent artisan Sāmpula.

(V. 29.)— and Dēvagana (?), these two crest-jewels of sculptors, have built the temple of (*Śiva*) the bearer of the Pināka, who has a Bilva-staff in his hand

(V. 30.)—As long as the moon and the sun keep the world enveloped in lines of rays; and the orb of the earth, supported by the array of the elephants of the regions, [is resting on the tortoise?]; and the sky has for its excellent ornament the extended pearl-string of a mass of stars;—so long may thy fame prosper, in the guise of (*this*) home of the enemy of the god of love!

[The year 1247]?⁴⁸

VIII.—A RĀSHṬRAKUTA GRANT OF KRISHNA II., DATED ŚAKA 832.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

The original of the subjoined grant was found at Kāpadvanaj in Gujarāt. The document is inscribed on three copperplates with slightly raised rims, and is in good preservation. Each plate measures about $11\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The three plates are strung on two rings. The right-hand ring is circular and about $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick; it measures about $3\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. The left-hand ring is of irregular shape and carries the oval seal, which measures $2\frac{3}{8}$ by 3 inches and bears, in high relief, on a countersunk surface, a well-cut figure of Garuda, who is sitting on a rising lotus-flower and surmounted by two *svastikas*. As Garuda, the vehicle of Vishnu, is represented on the seal of the present grant, while all other Rāshṭrakūta grants hitherto published bear a figure of Śiva, it may be concluded that Krishna II. who issued it was, unlike other members of his race, a Vaishnava. The language of the inscription is very incorrect Sanskrit. The numerous mistakes are not only due to the engraver, but also to the author of the text. Thus in verses 17 and 18, the metre proves that the composer of the inscription used the word *yatas* in its Prākṛit form *yasa*.

The inscription opens with a short *vamsāvali*, which has four verses in common with other Rāshṭrakūta grants¹ and mentions the following princes:—Krishnarāja I or Śubhatunga (verses 2, 3), his son Dhruvarāja or Nirupama (verses 4, 5); his son Govindarāja III. (verses 6 to 8), his son mahārāja Shanda (verses 9, 10), his son Subhatunga or Akālavārsha, *i.e.*, Krishna II. (verses 11, 12). Of Govinda III. the grant says that, though his father had several sons, he left the kingdom to him, as to a second Rāma, on account of his virtues (verse 7). From other inscriptions we know only one of Govinda's younger brothers, *viz.*, Indra III., the founder of the Gujarāt branch of the Rāshtrakūtas. The mahārāja Shanda of the present grant is identical with the maharaja Sarva or Amoghavarsha of other inscriptions. He is

⁴⁷ *i.e.* Kumarapāla, in the original, the second syllable has been shortened, to make the name fit into the verse

⁴⁸ See page 49, note 41.

¹ Verses 1, 3, 4, 8, correspond to verses 1, 12, 16, 18, of the grant of Dhruva III.—*Ind Ant*, vol XII, page 179.

here said to have destroyed his enemies and to have reconquered his kingdom, which had fallen off (verse 9). As we know from other inscriptions,² the enemies alluded to were rebellious members of his own family, probably Govinda IV and his followers, whom he conquered with the help of his cousin Karka II of Gujjarât

After the pedigree of Krishna II the inscription gives the *vamśāvali* of a vassal of his, the *mahāsāmanta* Prachanda, the son of Dhavaīappa, who belonged to the race of Brahmapaka (verses 13 to 18). Further, the document records that Vallabharāja or Akālavārsha (i. e., Krishna II) gave the village of Vyāghrāsa or Vallūrikā to the *brāhmaṇa* Brahmaphatta. This village formed one of 750 villages, which were designated by their chief town Harshapura, and among which Khetaka³ and Kāsadrāha⁴ are mentioned. To these 750 villages belonged the 84 villages of Karpata-vāñijya, and to the latter the 10 villages of Rūṛiddhā, in which the village granted was included, the inscription also mentions the names of seven villages which formed its boundaries⁵ (lines 38 to 40). In verse 20, the 750 villages are stated to have belonged to the king himself, while in the ensuing prose-passage it is said that in these 750 villages a certain Chandragupta was the *dandanāyaka* of the *mahāsāmanta* Prachanda. It thus appears that Prachanda held them as a fief from Krishna II. Perhaps Prachanda's father Dhavalappa had received them as a reward for his bravery and loyalty, which are praised in verse 17.

After the customary imprecatory verses there follows the signature of Akkuka or, as he is called in verse 18, Akkuya, the son of Dhavalappa and brother of Prachanda. The date of the grant was the Śaka year 832 (910-11 A.D.), on the full moon of Vaiśākha.⁶ The writer was the *kulaputraka* Ammayaka, the son of Nemāditya.⁷ The document ends with the signature of Chandragupta, who, as mentioned in line 34, was the *dandanāyaka* of the *mahāsāmanta* Prachanda.

TEXT

PLATE I

- 1 श्रीं [॥] स वीर्यादेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य कान्तदुक्कलया कमलं कृतं । [१] आसीन्नु-
- 2 रारि(तः)संकाशः कृष्णराजः क्षिते[] पतिः । अप्रमेयवसीर्हता साक्षाधर्मः इवापरः । [२]
- 3 शुभतुङ्गतुङ्गतुरगप्रह्वरेणूर्ध्वरुद्धरविकिरण । श्रीष्मेपि नभो निखिलं प्राहृत्का-
- 4 लायते स्यट । [३] तस्यात्मजः श्रीधुवराजनामा महानुभावः प्रथितप्रतापः । [४] प्र-

² See *Ind Ant* vol XIV, page 197

³ The modern Khedā (Kaira), see *Ind Ant*, vol X, page 278, vol XIV, p 198

⁴ This is probably the same as Kasāhrada, *Ind Ant*, vol XIV, p 202

⁵ Among the towns and villages named in the grant the following can be readily identified Karpata-vāñijya, "Bag-fair," is the modern Kāpadvanaj. The village granted, Vyāghrāsa, is the Gaikavadi village Vaghās, situated north east of Kāpadvanaj in lat. 23° 6' N and Long 73° 10' E (*Trig Survey Map, Guy Ser No 26*) East of Vaghās lies Panthora, called in the grant Panthodā, in the south there is the Laraji Mūdum, probably the Araluvaka of the grant. North west we have Abuvēl, the Apuvallī of the grant, and north Ambach, corresponding to Ambāñichs — G Bühler

Other inscriptions of Krishna II. are dated Śaka 822, 824, 826, and 831, see *Ind Ant*, vol. XII, p 221 f., and Mr Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p 36

⁷ This Nemāditya may have been a relation of Nemāditya, the son of the *kulaputraka* Dhurgabhaṭa, who wrote the grant of Karka II dated Śaka 734, see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XII, p 165

⁸ Read साक्षाधर्मः

⁹ Read •रेणूर्ध्व•

- 5 साधिताशेषनरेन्द्रचक्रः क्रमेण बालार्कवपुर्बभूव । [४] शशधरकरनिकरनिभ यस्य य-
 6 शः सुरन(र)गाग्रसाण्ड्यैः¹⁰ [१] परिगीयते समन्ताद्विद्याधरसुन्दरीनिवहैः । [५] तस्याप्यभू-
 7 हुवनभारभृतेः समर्थः पार्थीपमः पृथुसमानगुणागुणघ्नः [१] दुर्वारवद्भरि-¹¹
 8 वनितातुलतापहेतुः गोविन्दराज इति सुप्रथितप्रतापः । [६] यस्य प्रभोगुत्तर¹² चारु-
 9 दारकीर्तिः रामापरो¹³ निरुपमस्य पितुः सकाशात् [१] श्वस्त्रेप्यनेक¹⁴ तनयेषु गुणा-
 10 तिरैकान्मूर्धाभिषिक्तः(ः)नृपसम्मतमाश्रु¹⁵ राज्यं । [७] रक्षितं येन नि[१]शेष चतुरभोधिसंयु-
 11 तं । राज्यं धर्मेण लोकानां कृता तुष्टिः[१] परा हृदि । [८] स्रुततस्या¹⁶ तिवीरः सकलगुणग-
 12 णाकारभूतो बभूव(ः) भूपालार्कटिकाभि¹⁷ सपदि विघटितान्वेष्टइत्वा¹⁸ ददाह ।
 13 राज्यं यस्याभिमानो रिजमपि¹⁹ चलितं बाहुवीर्यादधाय²⁰ पृथ्वीमेकातपताम-²¹
 14 कुरुत बलवान् श्रीमहाराजपंडः । [९] यस्य विभो[१] कारायां रिपुरमणीचारु-
 15 धरणलम्बानां [१] परपरधे²² निगडानां अनवरत श्रूयते लोके । [१०] तस्याहभूव²³
 16 राजा प्रथितयशः[१] (१) शुभतुङ्गनामायै²⁴ । योसावकालवर्षोपरनामा²⁵
 17 गीयते लोके । [११] कृष्णचरितः स एव हि हितकृतेये²⁶ यो वि[भ]-
 18 र्त्तिं वर्षानां । राज्यं निहतारातिः (१) स्वभुजेन भुव च (क)

PLATE IIa.

- 19 कृष्ण इव । [१२] अस्य चरणप्रभावाद्भ्रूवकान्वयमगाद्भृशं लक्ष्मीं²⁷ [१]
 20 पश्चाद्भूतकविन्द्रे²⁸ रनवरतं पट्टयते प्रकटं ॥ [१३] तस्मादन्यसागरात्स-
 21 मभवत्[१] श्रीशुभ²⁹ लुम्बिडिः तस्माच्चापि बभूव दर्पदलनः[१] श्रीदेगडिर्विहिषां [१] येनानेकनरे-
 22 न्द्रदन्तिदलनाग्रासं यशः साश्वतं सिंघेने³⁰ रणाटवीर्विरचितान्निवर्भीक³¹ मेकाकिना । [१४]
 23 तस्माज्जातः प्रचण्डः प्रचरखरकराक्रान्तनिः[१]शेषभूष्टनाम्ना श्रीराजहंसः[१] प्रतिदि-
 24 नेमुदयी क(र)श्चपाद्वापिवश्चान्धेनानीता³² निजं श्रीः पुनरपि भवनं चंचला क्वापि या-
 25 न्ती पार्थेनोवारिचक्रे प्रमथन³³ पट्टना शोभवं भव्यभावं । [१५] निर्जितसकल[१] रिजनः श्री-
 26 धवलपथः प्रसिद्धतरनामा । धवलितभुवनो जयससी³⁴ संजातः पवनस्रुतिव । [१६]
 27 सिंघीभूय³⁵ विपक्षेण गृह्यमानं³⁶ यशेज्जुना [१] दत्त स्वसामिनी³⁷ येन त निहत्याश्रु म-
 28 ण्डलं । [१७] तस्मात्प्रचण्डः[१] संजातः समरे यशःलंपटः [१] अक्रुवद्यापि खड्गेन विख्या-
 29 तो निर्मलो भुवि । [१८] सेल्लविद्याधरेणापि सेल्लुक्कालित³⁸ पाणि(तपाणि)ना [१] निहृत्य(र)

¹⁰ Read 'साण्ड्यै'¹¹ Read 'वैरि'.¹² Read यय प्रमीयतुर०¹³ Read रामीपरी or रामीपमी.¹⁴ Read सत्सप्यनेक०¹⁵ Read 'माप'?¹⁶ Read स्रुततस्या०,¹⁷ Read भूपालार्कटिकामान् ?¹⁸ Read 'वेष्टयित्वा'¹⁹ Read यस्याभिमानो रिजमपि²⁰ Read 'दवाय'²¹ Read 'पताम०'²² Read 'रवी'.²³ Read तस्याहभूव²⁴ Read 'नामायै'²⁵ Read 'वर्षोपरनामा'²⁶ Read 'कृतये'²⁷ Read लक्ष्मी²⁸ Read 'कवीन्द्रे०'²⁹ The metre requires an additional syllable after श्रीशुभ०³⁰ Read शशधरं सिंघेनेव³¹ Read 'रक्षितं निर्भीक०'³² Read विवस्वान् । येनानीता³³ Read पार्थेनेवारिचक्रप्रमथन०³⁴ Read यशसा³⁵ Read सिंघीभूय³⁶ Read 'माप'³⁷ Read स्वसामिने³⁸ Read सेल्लुक्कालित०

- 30 शब्दन् (1) समधे³⁰ ययसा कल³¹मलंकृतं । [१८] श्रीमहन्नभरात्रः³² श्रीहर्षपुरोप-
 31 [ल]क्षितादग्रामात्³³ । भुंजत्य³⁴कालवर्षः अर्धाष्टमतीपसंख्यातात्³⁵ । [२०] सर्वानागामि-
 32 भद्रनृपतिमहासामन्तामात्यवलाधिकृतविषयकमहत्तरात्³⁶ (1) समनुबोध-
 33 यत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा श्रीखेटकहर्षपुरकासद्रहणतत् (1) अर्धाष्टम-
 34 यं³⁷ समधिगतपंचमहाशब्दमहासामन्तप्रचण्डदण्डनायकश्रीचन्द्रगु-
 35 ते (1) मया श्रीहर्षपुरार्धाष्टमशतान्त[ः]पाति[क]र्षटवाणिव्यचतुर(1)श्रीति-

PLATE IIb.

- 36 काप्रतिवहकुरिदादशकान्त[ः]पातिव्याघ्रासग्रामः सहस्रमालाकुलः सदण्डदशाप-
 37 राधः ससीमापर्यन्त[ः] सकाष्ठतृणकूपतडागोपेतः समोगभाग[ः] सहिरण्यः चतुराघाटनो-
 38 पलक्षितः घाणक³⁸पलसमेतः (समभिलिख्यते) । आघाटनानि³⁹ अभिलिख्यन्ते । पूर्वतः पंथो-
 39 ङाग्रामो विन्ध्यावल्लीच । दक्षिणतः कीरडवल्लीग्रामो(1) अरतुवकग्रामश्च । पश्चिमतः[ः] नावा-
 40 लिका अपूर्वल्लीच । उत्तरतः अम्बाउच्चग्रामः [1] एवं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितः वल्लूरिका-
 41 ग्रामः भट्टवास्तव्यवानिमध्यन्दिनभरद्वाजसगोत्रसन्नचारो⁴⁰ ब्राह्मणब्रह्मभट्टे⁴¹ वल्ल-
 42 सुताय (1) म्नात्वीदकातिसर्ग⁴² वलिचरकवैश्वदेवार्थ⁴³ प्रतिग्रहेण प्रतिपादितः [1] तदर्थम-
 43 आप्र⁴⁴दत्तधर्मदाय[ः] सर्वैरेवा⁴⁵गामिमोक्षुभिः अस्मद्युप⁴⁶रोधात्पालनीयो(अ)नुमन्तव्य-
 44 च [1] उक्त च (1) रिषि⁴⁷व्यासेन । षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति⁴⁸ भूमिदः [1] आच्छेत्ता
 चानुमता⁴⁹
 45 च तान्येव नरके वसेत् । विन्ध्याटवीवतीयास्तु शुष्क(ः)कोटरवासिनः [1] महाहयो हि जाय-
 46 न्ते भूमिदानं हरंति ये । स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यन्नाद्रक्ष नराधिप(ः) [1] महीं महीश्रुतां श्रेष्ठ दा-
 47 नात्⁵⁰ त्रेयोनुपालनं । यानिह⁵¹ दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रेः दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्मा-
 48 ण्यवन्तःप्रतिमानि तानि की नाम साधुः पुनराददीत(ः) । सर्वानेव⁵² भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रात्⁵³भू-
 49 यी भूयो याचते रामभद्रः [1] सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भव-
 50 त्तिः । बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः

PLATE III.

- 51 तस्य तस्य तदा फलं । इति कमलदलान्मु(ः)वि-
 52 न्दुलोला⁵⁴ त्रियमवलोक्त मनुष्यजीवितञ्च । सकलमिद-

³⁰ Read समरे.³¹ Read कल.³² Read रात्रः.³³ Read गान्धामान्.³⁴ Read भुंजत्य.³⁵ Read व्यातान.³⁶ Read विषयिकसहस्रान्.³⁷ Read अर्धाष्टमशतमयः.³⁸ Read धार्मिक.³⁹ Read आघाटनानि.⁴⁰ Read बालव्यभरद्वाजसगोत्रवाजिमाध्यन्दिनसन्नचारि.⁴¹ Read भट्टा.⁴² Read म्नात्वीदकातिसर्ग.⁴³ Read देवार्थ.⁴⁴ Read संन्यु.⁴⁵ Read सर्वैरेवा.⁴⁶ Read अस्मद्युप.⁴⁷ Read पृथिवि.⁴⁸ Read तिष्ठति.⁴⁹ Read चानुमता.⁵⁰ Read नात्.⁵¹ Read यानिह.⁵² Read न्यावान्प्रति.⁵³ Read सर्वानेव.⁵⁴ Read वेन्द्रात्.⁵⁵ Read लोला.

53 मसाश्रतं⁶⁵ [च] बुद्धा⁶⁶ न हि मनुजैः परकीर्तये⁶⁷ विलोप्याः । स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा यो हरे-
 54 त वसुन्धरां [।] स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते । भूमि यः प्रतिगृह्णाति⁶⁸ य-
 55 य भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तो पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतौ स्वर्गगामिनौ । अग्नेरपत्यं प्र-
 56 थमं सुवर्षं भूर्वैष्णवीं⁶⁹ सोमसुताय गावः । लोकत्रय⁷⁰ तेन भवेत्⁷¹ दत्त यः कांचनं
 57 गा च मही⁷² च दद्यात् । वज्रि⁷³ वज्रिसुतं चाम्बु पंचपूतां⁷⁴ प्रजायते । दत्त्वा सर्व्वरसां चैचध⁷⁵
 58 न मर्त्यो जायते पुनः । सर्व्वपामिव⁷⁶ दानानां एकजन्मानुगं फलं । हाटकं⁷⁷ क्षितिगी-
 59 रीणां सप्तजन्मानुगं फलं । स्वहस्तोयं श्रीमदकुक्ष्य श्रीधवलप्यसू-
 60 नोः । शकसंवत् ८३२ वैशाखशुद्धपौर्णमास्यां महाविशाख्यां पूर्व्व-
 61 देवव्रजदायवर्जो दत्तः [।] लिखितमिदं शासनं कुलपुत्रकेणाम्रैय-
 62 केन नैमादित्यसुतेनेति । यदक्षोनाक्षरमधिकाक्षरम्वा तत्सर्व्वं प्रमा-
 63 णमिति व्यासतुल्योपि सुद्वति ॥ स्वहस्तोयं श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य ॥

TRANSLATION.

Om. (Verse 1) May he (*Vishnu*) protect you, from whose navel (*rises*) the lotus-flower which Vedhas (*Brahman*) has made his abode, and may Hara (*Śiva*) protect you, whose head is adorned by the lovely crescent of the moon !

2. There was a lord of the earth (*called*) *Kṛṣṇarāja*, who resembled *Murāri* (*Kṛṣṇa*), and who, like another incarnation of the god of justice,⁷³ gave away immeasurable wealth

3. Even in summer the whole firmament had exactly the same appearance as during the rainy season, because the rays of the sun were obstructed on the sky by the dust, which was raised by the tall chargers of *Śubhatunga*

4. He was succeeded by his son, the illustrious *Dhruvarāja*, who conquered all kings and resembled the morning sun (*by*) his great majesty and his widespread prowess (*or heat*).

5. His fame, which resembles the rays of the moon, is sung in full by the *Vidyādhara* women, who dwell on the uppermost ridge of the mountain of the gods (*Meru*)

6. He had (*a son*) called *Govindarāja*, who was able to bear the burden of the earth, who resembled *Pārtha* (*Arjuna*), who, like *Pṛithu*, knew (*how to distinguish between*) good and bad qualities, who was the cause of unequalled sorrow to the wives of irresistible foes, and whose prowess was very widely known.

7. Though there were several sons, this clever and handsome (*prince*),—like another *Rāma*,—received on account of his superior virtues the kingdom, to which anointed kings paid homage, from the famous lord, his father *Niupama*.

8. He ruled righteously his whole kingdom together with the four oceans (*and thus*) filled the hearts of men with the highest joy.

⁶⁵ Read •मसाश्रतं

⁶⁶ Read बुद्धा

⁶⁷ Read •कीर्तये.

⁶⁸ Read •गृह्णाति

⁶⁹ Read •वैष्णवी

⁷⁰ Read लोकत्रय

⁷¹ Read भवेत्

⁷² Read मही.

⁷³ Read वज्रि

⁷⁴ Read पंचपूता ?

⁷⁵ Read चैचध

⁷⁶ Read सर्व्वपामिव.

⁷⁷ Read हाटक.

⁷⁸ i. e., like Yudhisṭhira, the son of Dharma or Yama

9. His son was the illustrious *mahārāja* Shanda, who was very brave, a mine ⁷⁹ of all virtues, proud and powerful. He quickly dispersed, surrounded and burnt the kings, like thorns, conquered by the strength of his arm his own kingdom which had fallen off, and made the earth subject to one (*royal*) parasol.

10. In the jail of this sovereign, people incessantly heard the harsh clinking of the chains which were attached to the tender feet of the wives of his enemies.

11. From this famous (*prince*) there sprang this (*present*) king called Śubha-tunga, the same whom people praise in song by his other name Akālavārsha.

12 His deeds resemble those of Krishna, for, having killed his foes, he bears the kingdom for the welfare of the (*four*) castes and the earth with his arm, like Krishna ⁸⁰

13. Through his favour ⁸¹ great fortune came to the race of Brahmavaka, (*this fortune*) is incessantly and openly proclaimed by the great poets of later times.

14 From this ocean-like race there arose the illustrious . . . Kumbadī, and from him the illustrious Degadī, the destroyer of the pride of his enemies, the eternal fame which he, alone (*but*) without fear, obtained by destroying the elephants of many princes, pervaded the battle-fields, as that of a lion does the forests.

15. As the sun from Kaśyapa, there sprang from him the fierce and illustrious Rājahamsa, whose far-reaching and hard hands (*or hot rays*) overcame all kings (*or mountains*) and who was rising daily, he who, like Pārtha (*Arjuna*), knew how to destroy his foes, led fickle fortune, who was wandering somewhere else, again to his own beautiful temple of Śambhu (*Śiva*) ⁸²

16. Like (*Hanumat*) the son of the wind, there was born the illustrious Dhavalappa, who conquered all his enemies, whose name was well-known, and who whitened the world with his fame.

17. Becoming (*as it were*) a lion and being desirous of fame, he quickly killed the enemy and restored to his master the province, which (*this unnamed enemy*) had taken

18 From him came Prachanda, who was eager for fame in war, and the spotless Akkuva, who is renowned on earth by his sword.

19. Sella-Vidyādhara ⁸³ also, whose hands were as graceful as the *śelu* (*plant*), adorned his race with fame by killing his enemies in battle.

20. The illustrious Vallabharāja Akālavārsha possesses seven hundred and fifty villages, which are designated by (*their chief-town*) Śrī-Harshapura

(Line 31) He informs all who shall come (*to this village*) —gracious princes, great vassals, ministers, commanders of the army, heads of districts and great men,—

(L. 33.) “Be it known to you that, while in these seven hundred and fifty (*villages*) of Śrī-Khetaka, Harshapura, and Kāsadrāha, the illustrious Chandragupta was the *dandanāyaka* of the *mahāsāmanta* Prachanda, who has obtained the five *mahāśabdas*, I gave as a donation the village of Vyāghrāsa, which is included in the ten (*villages*) of

⁷⁹ On account of the metre, *ākāra* is used for *ākara*

⁸⁰ This verse alludes to the real name of the king, viz Krishna

⁸¹ Literally “through the power of his feet”

⁸² The meaning of the second half of this verse seems to be, that Rājahamsa dedicated the booty of his warlike expeditions to a temple of Śiva which he himself had built.

⁸³ This person seems to have been a brother of Prachanda and Akkuva

Rāriddhā, which belong to the eighty-four (*villages*) of Karpataṇijya, which are included in the seven hundred and fifty (*villages*) of Śrī-Harshapura, together with its rows of trees, together with (*the right to*) punishment and (*the right of fining those who commit*) the ten offences, up to its boundaries, together with its timber, grass, wells and tanks, together with its enjoyments and shares, together with its gold, defined by its four boundaries, together with its pasture and straw;— the boundaries are (*here*) written: on the east, the village of Panthodā and Vitkhāvallī; on the south, the village of Keradavallī and the village of Araluvaka;²⁴ on the west, Nāvālikā and Apāvallī; on the north, the village of Ambāuñcha;—the village of Vallārikā, thus defined by its four boundaries, to the *brāhmaṇa* Brahmaphatta, who is the son of Vavva, lives at Bhatta (I), belongs to the Bharadvāja-*gotra* and studies the Vāji-Mādhyamdina (*śākhā*), after having bathed, with a libation of water, in order (*to enable the donee to perform*) the *śali*, *charuka* and *vaiśvadeva*. Therefore, all future rulers shall preserve and assent to the charitable gift which was given by us, without obstructing us."

(L. 44.) And the saint Vyāsa has said.— [Here follow twelve of the customary imprecatory verses which it is unnecessary to translate]

(L. 59). This is the signature of the illustrious Akkuka, the son of the illustrious Dhavalappa *Śaka-saṃvat* 832, on *Mahā-vaiśākṣī*, (*i.e.*) on the full-moon in the bright half of *Vaiśākṣa*, (*the above-mentioned village*) was given, with the exception of previous gifts to temples and to *Brāhmanas*. This edict was written by the noble (*kula-putraka*) Ammayaka, the son of Nemāditya. What syllable in this (*document*) is too few or too many, all that is valid, for even a man who resembles Vyāsa is liable to make mistakes. This is the signature of the illustrious Chandragupta.

IX.—TWO CAVE-INSRIPTIONS FROM THE TRISIRAPALLI ROCK.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.,

EPIGRAPHIST TO THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY, SOUTHERN INDIA.

The subjoined inscriptions are engraved on two pillars in a rock-cut cave not far from the summit of the well-known rock at Trisīrāpallī (Trichināpallī). They are both somewhat worn. The left pillar was covered by a modern wall, which the temple authorities temporarily removed at the request of the Collector, W. A. Willock, C.S. Each of the two pillars bears four Sanskrit verses. Besides, the lower part of the left pillar bears a few unintelligible Sanskrit words and a much defaced inscription in old Tamil characters.

The two inscriptions record that a king Gunabhara, who bore the *birudas*—Puruṣottama, Śatrumalla and Satyasamdha, constructed a temple of Śiva on the top of the mountain and placed in it a *linga* and a statue of himself. Each of the two pillars mentions the river Kāvīrī, *i.e.* the Kāverī, on whose banks Trisīrāpallī is situated,

²⁴ Compare the village of Araluzam in the Ilāo grant of Dadda II, *Ind. Ant.* vol. XIII, p. 117.

and refers to the Chola country. On the left pillar the Kāviri is called 'the beloved of the Pallava'; this means in prose that a Pallava king ruled over the country along the banks of the Kāveri river. This allusion and the fact, that the characters of the two pillar inscriptions remind us of those of the Pallava inscriptions at Māmalla-puram and Kāñchipuram, make it very probable that Gunabhara was a Pallava prince who ruled over the Chola country.

A.—PILLAR TO THE LEFT.

TEXT.

- [1] कावीरीन्द्रयनाभिरामसलिलामारा-
 [2] ममालाधराम् देवो वीक्ष्य नदीप्रियः
 [3] प्रिय[गु]णामप्येष¹ रन्धेदिति [१*]² साशं-
 [4] का गिरिकन्यका पितृकुलं हित्वेह मन्ये गि-
 [5] [रौ] नित्यन्तिष्ठति पल्लवस्य दयितामेतां ह्य-
 [6] वाणा नदीम् ॥ [१*] गुणभरनामनि राजन्यनेन लि-
 [7] ङ्गेन लिङ्गिनि ज्ञानम् [१*] प्रयताश्चिराय लोके वि-
 [8] पचवृत्तेः परावृत्तम् ॥ [२*] चोळविषयस्य शैलो
 [9] मौलिखिवायं महामणिरिवाय [१*] हरगृहमेत-
 [10] ञ्ज्योतिस्तदीयमिव शांकरं ज्योतिः ॥ [३*] शिला[ख]रे-
 [11] ण जनिता सत्यसन्धस्य भौतिकी [१*] मूर्तिः कीर्त्तिम-
 [12] यी चास्य कृता तेनैव शाश्वती ॥ [४*] निष्कृ[प्य] चला [च]-
 [13] मघायि [गुणम]रे भक्तिः * *

TRANSLATION

(Verse 1.) Being afraid that the god who is fond of rivers (*Śiva*), having perceived the Kāviri, whose waters please the eye, who wears a garland of gardens, and who possesses lovely qualities, might fall in love (*with her*), the daughter of the mountain (*Pārvatī*), has, I think, left her father's family and resides permanently on this mountain, calling this river the beloved of the Pallava (*king*).³

(2.) While the king called Gunabhara is a worshipper of the linga, let the knowledge which has turned back from hostile (*vipakṣa*) conduct, be spread for a long time in the world by this linga!⁴

(3.) This mountain resembles the diadem of the Chola province, this temple of Hara (*Śiva*) its chief jewel, and the splendour of Śamkara (*Śiva*) its splendour

(4.) By the stone-chisel a material body of Satyasamdha⁵ was executed, and by the same an eternal body of his fame was produced.

¹ दृ looks like य .

² In the transcripts, a small star * attached to a mark of punctuation, letter, or numeral in square brackets [], indicates that it did not exist in the original, but has been supplied.—Ed

³ Pārvatī calls Kāviri the wife of another, in order to prevent Śiva from coveting her

⁴ This whole verse has a double entendre. It contains allusions to the Indian logic (*tarkaśāstra*), in which *liṅga* means the subject of a proposition, *liṅga* the predicate of a proposition and *vipakṣa* an instance on the opposite side

⁵ Satyasamdha must have been a *śirūda* of Gunabhara. A statue of the king is also alluded to in the first verse on the right pillar

B.—PILLAR TO THE RIGHT.

TEXT

- [1] शैलेन्द्रमूर्धनि शिलाभवने विचित्रे
 [2] शैलीन्तनुं गुणभरो नृपतिर्निधाय [१*]
 [3] स्थाणुं व्यधत्त विधिरेष यथार्थसंज्ञं
 [4] स्थाणुः स्वयञ्च सह तेन जगत्सु जातः [॥ १*]
 [5] गृहमकृत शत्रुमहो गिरिन्द्रकन्या-
 [6] पतेर्गिरावस्मिन् [१*] गिरिशस्य गिरिश-
 [7] [सं]ज्ञामन्वर्त्तीकर्तुमर्त्यपतिः ॥ [२*]
 [8] विभूतिञ्चोळानां कथमहमवेक्षे-
 [9] य विपुलां नदीं वा कावीरीमवनिभवनाव-
 [10] स्थित इति [१*] हरेणोक्तः प्रीत्या विभुरदिश-
 [11] दभ्रंलिहमिदमनुप्र[स्थो राज्ये] गरिमवन-^७
 [12] मस्यै गुणभरः ॥ [३*] निर्मापिता[मिति सुदा]
 [13] पुरुषोत्तमेन शैलीं हरस्य तनुमप्रति-
 [14] सामनेन [१*] कृत्वा शिवं शिरसि [धा]रयताम्-
 [15] संस्थसुचैःशिरस्तुमच[लस्य] कृतं कृता-
 [16] र्थम् ॥ [४*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) When king Gunabhara placed a stone-figure in the wonderful stone-temple on the top of the best of mountains, he made in this way^६ Sthānu (*Śiva*) stationary^७ and became himself stationary (i.e., *immortal*) in the worlds together with him.

(2.) King Śatrumalla built on this mountain a temple of Gīriśa (*Śiva*), the husband of the daughter of the king of mountains, in order to make the name Gīriśa (i.e., *the mountain-dweller*) true to its meaning.

(3) After Hara (*Śiva*) had graciously asked him. "How could I, standing in a temple on earth, view the great power of the Cholas or the river Kāvīrī?"—king Gunabhara, who resembled Manu in his manner of ruling, assigned to him this mountain-temple which touches the clouds

(4.) Thus having joyfully placed on the top (of the mountain) a matchless stone-figure of Hara (*Śiva*), which he caused to be executed, that Purushottama, who bore Śiva fixed in his mind, made the loftiness of the mountain fruitful

^६ Read गिरिन्द्र

^७ Read गिरिमवम

^८ Literally 'this was the way'

^९ Literally 'he made Sthānu (i.e., *the stationary one*) one whose name was true to its meaning.'

X.—BADĀUN STONE INSCRIPTION OF LAKHANAPALA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHOEN, PH.D., O.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription was found in August 1887, in the ruins of the south gate of the old fort of Badāun,¹ the chief town of the Badāun District of the North-Western Provinces, whence it has been removed to the Lucknow Museum.

The writing covers a space of about 3 feet broad by 1 foot 6 inches high, but the inscription is not complete now. All along the top, on the proper left side all the way down, and at the left side of the bottom, portions of the stone are broken away. But the *aksharas* which in consequence are missing on the left side are few, and can in almost every case be easily supplied; and at the top probably only one or two lines are lost, containing little more than the customary blessings and verses in honour of some deity, in the present case, probably Śiva, and the introductory historical portion of the inscription, at any rate, appears to be complete. Nor does anything of importance seem to have been lost in the concluding lines, in the verses which either refer to the composer of the inscription or express the usual wish that the temple, the erection of which is recorded here, may last for ever. Excepting about half a dozen *aksharas* at the beginning of the last line, what remains of the inscription is well preserved, and may be read with certainty.

The average size of the letters varies from $\frac{5}{8}$ " to $\frac{3}{4}$ ", and is somewhat less in the four or five bottom lines. The characters are Devanāgarī of about the 12th or 13th century A.D., and the inscription was engraved by the two artizans Gôge and Jīlhe (line 23). The language is Sanskrit, and excepting what possibly is a date, at the beginning of line 23, the inscription is in verse throughout. The verses were, it appears, composed by the poet Govindachandra, who is described as the youngest of the five sons of Gangādhara (himself the son of the sage Sômesvara, a resident of Āhādegadha) and his wife Sūlhā, a daughter of the learned Paraśurāma (lines 21—22). The inscription is remarkably free from minor errors, and in respect of orthography I therefore have only to note that *va* is represented by the sign for *va* everywhere except in the word *ārabdha* in line 23.

The inscription possibly, at the beginning of line 23, contains a date which at present, unfortunately, I am unable to make out from the impression submitted to me. Certain it is that it refers itself to the reign of a prince, Lakhanapāla, and that it records the erection of a Śiva-temple at the place, it may be presumed, where the inscription was discovered, and which is called here Vodāmayūtā (lines 1 and 11). And from these two points of view the inscription may be conveniently divided into two portions, the first of which, extending to near the end of line 7, gives the genealogy of Lakhanapāla, while the second part, comprising about lines 8—20, has reference to the founder of the temple and his spiritual predecessors. Of this latter portion it is sufficient to give

¹ In the inscription, the place is called Vodāmayūtā (lines 1 and 11) and described as "the town of Bharata" (line 20.) Sir A. Cunningham, in the *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XI, p. 1, states that, according to the Brāhmins, its original name was either "Bedaman" or "Bedamāya" [Conf. *North-Western Provinces Gazetteer*, vol. V, pp. 157 to 160. It is also written Badāyūn.—J. B.]

an abstract of the contents; regarding the prince Lakhanapâla and his ancestors, the writer of the inscription expresses himself as follows:—

(L. 1). “[*Here* ²] where the rising of the whole assemblage of evils is far removed by the floods of water of the river of heaven, ³ [*there is*] the town Vodâmayâtâ, ornamenting the land named Pañchâla, (*and*) protected by the arms of all the famous pûnees born in the Râshtrakûta family. Radiant with prosperity, inasmuch as its enemies were feeble and the excellent well-disposed persons in it many, ornamented with the best of horses, (*and*) surrounded by trees resembling the trees of paradise, pleasing with its lofty spotless [temples] (*and*) a seat of law-abiding people, this beautiful (*town*) with its collections of excellencies shone like the city of Indra, radiant with the wealth of very many excellent flowers of *mandâra* ⁴ trees, ornamented with the best of Gandharvas, (*and*) surrounded by *samtâna* and *kalpa* trees, pleasing with its lofty pure [habitations] of the gods, (*and*) the seat of the assembly of the immortals.”

(L. 2). “There, there was first, endowed with endless excellencies, the lord of men, Chandra, who by the terror of his sword terrified the host of the enemies; whose son Vighrahapâladêva protected the earth, well known among adversaries (*and*) munificent towards supplicants. His son, known by the name of Bhuvanapâla, (*was*) certainly, manifested as it were to the eyes, the law incarnate, when, after having protected the earth, he had gone to heaven, his son Gopâladêva guarded (*the earth*), and when he, the remover of the distress of the people, had assumed the reign, the castes, delighting in their several duties, attained to happiness.”

(L. 3). “Afterwards his son Tribhuvana protected the earth, humbling the multitude of enemies (*and in consequence*) endowed with fame. When (*this*) his brother by the decree of fate had gone to heaven, then the same land was ruled over by the prince Madanapâla, in consequence of whose distinguished prowess there never was any talk of Hambîra's ⁵ coming to the banks of the river of the gods. Afterwards his younger brother, who destroyed hundred thousands of proud adversaries (*and who was*) munificent (*and*) compassionate, protected the earth, bearing on earth the excellent name of the illustrious Devapâla, a recital of whose deeds might secure victory even to-day.”

(L. 5) “(*Then*) his son became king, installed in the place of his father as the illustrious Bhîmapâla, who defeated the difficult-to-be-conquered hostile heroes (*and*) whose excellent body was spotless like gold, a born ruler, causing welfare, devoted to the gods and to Brâhmans. Then there came, to protect the earth, his son, known the world over as the illustrious Sûrapâla, (*who among princes was*) what Indra is in the assembly of the gods, what the moon is in the assembly of the stars, what (*Indra's elephant*) Airâvana is among the choicest of elephants, (*and*) what the lion is among the wild beasts. His son was Amritapâla, who, endowed with prowess, frightened all enemies by the sharp sword of his hand, who was devoted to the twice-born, the elders, and the gods, attached to every science, (*and*) the preceptor as it were of all whose weapons deal out stern punishment.”

² The beginning of this verse, together with the verse or verses which must have preceded it, is broken away.

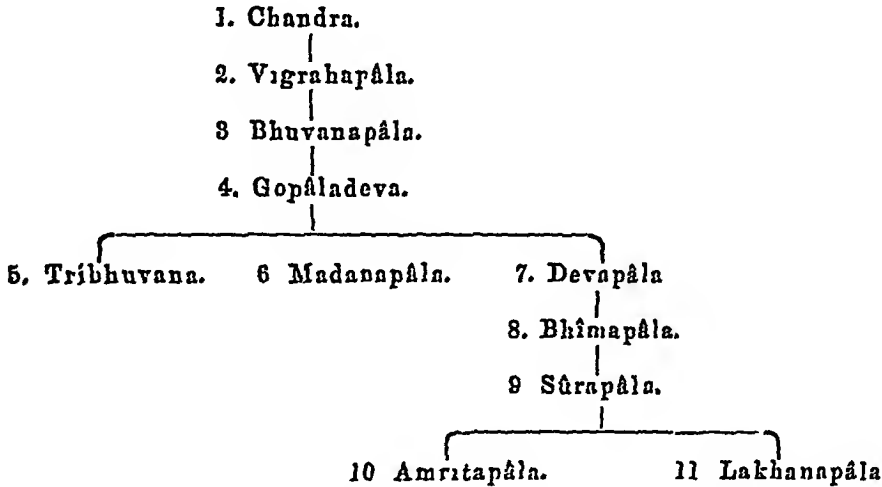
³ i. e., the Ganges

⁴ The *mandâra*, *samtâna*, and *kalpa* trees are trees of Indra's paradise.

⁵ The usual spelling of this word is *Hammîra*, see, e.g., the Royal Asiatic Society's Plate of Vijayachandra and Jayachandra, line 8, in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV, p. 7 [For the application of *Hammîra* as used on coins, see Thomas's *Chronicles of the Pathân Kings of Delhi*, pp. 50n and 130n—J. B.]

(L 7). "May his younger brother, the prince Lakhanapāla, who has succeeded him, remain here billions of ages!—he, whose munificence is boundless, (and) the multitudes of whose missile weapons, resembling the scorching rays of the sun, drink streams of blood from the bodies of distinguished enemies!"

Put into the form of a tabular statement, the genealogy here furnished to us is as follows:—



Beyond these names, and the statement that these princes belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa clan (which appears to connect them with the Rāthōr rulers of Kanauj), and that the town Vodāmayūtā was ruled over by them, we learn nothing of historical importance from the inscription. Nor have I been able to gather any certain information about these rulers from other inscriptions, or from the historical works which I have consulted. Most of the names, of course, do occur elsewhere, but the only name ending in *pāla*, distinctly connected with the town of Badāun, is that of Mahīpāla, "the Tomar Rāja of Dehli, who," according to Sir A. Cunningham,⁶ "is said to have built the great fort on which part of the city now stands," as well as a temple, on the site of which the Muhammadans built the present Jāmi' Masjid; and Mahīpāla's name does *not* occur here. The reference to Hambīra (or the Hambīras), in line 4, appears clearly to point to the invasions of the Muhammadans.

After the above historical introduction, the inscription goes on to relate that there was once a Śaiva ascetic, called Varmaśiva, whose home was Anahīlapātaka, and who, after destroying by the efficacy of his *mantras* an idol which had been set up by Bauddhas in Dakṣhināpātha, and after giving other proofs of his piety and superhuman power in Kāśmīr, on his wanderings also came to Vodāmayūtā, where, by Devapāla's minister Rulhā, he was appointed head of a *matha* or monastery of the town (lines 8—12). In this office he appears to have been succeeded by another holy and renowned personage, named Mārtigana, who became the spiritual adviser of the prince Sūrapāladēva (lines 13—15). Mārtigana's place, again, was taken, during the reign of Amṛitapāla, by his pupil Īśānaśiva, who is described as born in Gauda, as belonging to the Vatsabhārgava *gotra*, with the five *pravaras* Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, and Jamadagni, and as the eldest son of the twice-born

⁶ *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XI, p. 1—A prince 'Depal,' with the date A D 1256, and a prince 'Lakhan Pāl,' with the date A D 1330, are mentioned, *ib.* vol. XX, pp. 13 and 14

Vasâvana, a resident of Simhapalli in the Hariyâna country. Thus Îśânaśiva, persuaded of the vanity of worldly affairs, founded the temple of Śiva at which this inscription must be supposed to have been put up originally, and endowed it with (the revenues of) a place called Bhadanaulikâ (lines 16—21). This portion of the inscription closes with a verse (line 21) which appears to intimate that the minister Rulhâ, mentioned above, was succeeded in his office by Lakshmidhara and Jagatpâla, who were as devout worshippers of Śiva as their predecessor.

Of the places and districts, which, besides Vodâmayûtâ, are mentioned in the inscription, Anahilapâtaka is the well-known Anhilwâda in Western India, and Hariyâna the modern Hariâna, described in the *Imperial Gazetteer* as a tract of country in the Hissâr District of the Panjâb. The places Simhapalli (l. 16), Bhadanaulikâ, and Âhâdegadha (l. 21) I am unable to identify.

TEXT¹

- L. 1. [svahsi]ndh²-ûdaka-pûra-dûra-gamit-âśêsh-âgha-samgh-ôdayê | prakhyât-âkhula-Râshtrakûta-kulaja-kshmâpâla-dôh-pâlita Pamchâl-âbludha-dêsa-bhûshana-kari Vôdâmayûtâ puri || Mamdârâtiva(ba)lu-prakrishta-sumanah-sampatti-sam-
[ś]ôbhita gamdharv-ôttama-bhûshita parivrita samtânakalpadrumah | atyuech-
âmalâ-dêva-[mam ?] ॐ ॐ ॐ
- 2 nâ ramyâ sudharm-âsrayô yâ rêjê guna-samchayair=iva puri Paurandari
sundari || Tat³=âditô=bhavad=ananta-gunô naiendraś=Ochandrah sva-khadga-bhaya-
bhûshita-vairi-[vr]indah | prathyarthishu prakatitô=rthishu yasya dâtâ kshônim raraksha
suta-Vigrahapâladêvah || Tasy=â[tma]—⁴
3. Bhuvanapâla iti prasiddhah piatyaksha-lakshya iva mûrtti-dharô hi dharmah |
tasmin=prapâlya vasudhâm divi samprayâtê Gôpâladêva iti tat=tanayô jugôpa | (II)
Yatra prajâ-durita-hârinî lavdha(bdha)-râjyê varnnâh sva-karma-niratâh sukhâtma-
avâpuh || (I) tat=sûnur=ânamita-vairi-kadamva(ba)kô-tah kîty⁵=a[nv]i—⁶
4. s=Tribhuvanô bhuvanam raraksha || Sva-bhûtari svar=upayâtavati sva-daivât=
s=av=âvanir=Madanapâla-nripêna bhuktâ | yat=paurushât=pravaratah surasindhu-
tira-Hamvi(mbi)ra-samgama-kathâ na kadâchid=âsit || Tasy=ânujô dalita-dripta-
vipaksha-lakshô dâtâ dayâlur=avanim=avati sma paschât [1*]
5. śrî-Dêvapâla-vara-nâma-dharô[dharâyâ]m=ady=âpi yach-charita-varnnanatô
jayah syât || Tasy=âtma⁷jô vijita-durjaya-vairi-viro râj=âbhavat=kanaka-nimala-sach-
chharirah | garbhêśvarah śubha-karah sura-vipra-bhaktah śrî-Bhîmapâla iti tâta-
padê=bhishiktah || Tat=sambhavô=bhavad=a—⁷
6. vani-pâlanâya śrî-Sûrapâla iti sarvva-jagat-prasiddhah | Śakrô yathâ sura-ganê
bha-ganê śasûmka Airâvanô gaja-varêshu mrigêshu simbah || Abhavad⁸=Amrita pâlâs-
tasya putiah pratâpi nija-kara-nisit-âsi-trâsit-âśêsha-śatruh | dvija-guru-sura-bhaktah
sarvva-[śâ]—⁹

¹ From an impression supplied to me by Dr Burgess — The first half of the line, preceding that here numbered 1, is entirely gone, and of the second half only the lower portions of the aksharas are left

² Metre, Śardûlavikrîdita, and of the next verse

³ Metre, Vasantatilakâ, and of the next six verses.

⁴ i e, âtmajô

⁵ Originally kîtyâ-

⁶ i e, anvîta

⁷ i e., atô

⁸ Metre, Mâhîni, and of the next verse.

⁹ i e., śâstrâ-

- 7 nuraktō gurur=iva sakalānām=ugra-damd-āyudhānām || Tad=anu tad-anujātō āta-dān-ātīkō mīpati-Lakhanapālah kalpa-kōtīr=ih=āstām | tapa-tapana-kar-ābha-prāsa-vīmdāni yasy=āni-vara-tanushu dhārā raudhīrīr=āpīva(ba)nti || Anahilapā-taka¹⁰-vasatīh prāg=āsīt=tāpa—¹¹
8. mahākula-jah | Varmaśivah śiva-mūrtih kīti-mati-kshāmti-dhṛiti-dhāma || Yō¹² vā(bā)lah kila Dakṣiṇāpatha-gatō vau(bau)ddha-pratī[shṭh]āpitām sampāśyan=pratimām jahāra vidhīnā kēn=āpī dūiam rushā | mamtr-ōchchārana-vēlay=aiva pataba-dhvānāt=tatō viśrutō vijñātō guru-gauravān=nīja-padē ninyē¹³.
- 9 tām mamtra-vit || Kāśmīrēshu ya īśvar-ārpita-manā vidvadbhū=abhyarchchitah svām śaktim paridarśya Kāśyapa iva kshāmpāla-māl-ārolutah | digrudrān=vishamān=vidhāpya sa tatō Rudr-ālayam nirmalam vāmoh-āhāra-karam matham vyarachayad=bha-itārak-ābhīshṭa-dam || Svairēn=ōpavanē kvachid=viachita-dhyānāsan-ā-
10. dhyāsanō madhyāhñē=pi na tatyajē vara-ta[rō]h¹⁴ prāgvan=nīja-chchāyayā | tad=diśtvā dvīja-jātīn-ātsayatah kēn=āpī samsēvitas=tasmai tushta-manā manushya-nikara-svāmītvā-lābham dadau || Paśchād=adbhuta-taika-vō(bō)dha-va(ba)latas=tatr=aiva pa[t*]tram svayam dattv=ōpāijya yāsah śāsāmkā-uchūam jītv=ō¹⁵
11. tām=rādīnah | chētah-suddhi-kaiēshu tītha-nikaiēshv=ā-vārdhī sisnā(shnā)-sayā pīḍakshinyam=idam mahī-talam=atan=Vōdāmayātām gatah || Tādā¹⁶ śrī-Dēva-pālasya kula-krama-samudbhavah | mamti Rulh-ābhīdhānō=bhūd=Imdrasy=ēva svayam guvuh || Tatō¹⁷ bhāvi-kshāmābhūt-sukīta-[rachana]h pātra-nikara-pradhā-
12. nēn=ānēna prachura-guna-bhrit=pūjya-charitah | svayam Rulhā-nāmnā divira-kulajēn=āpta-matinā gurutvē vinyastō nīja-pura-matha-svāmīya-vishayē || Anādī¹⁸ Kanhēsvadēvam=ādau Rulhēsvaram kārayatī sma paśchāt | matham tapasvishv=anukūla-vastu-sampattī dēvāvanī-tulyam=ētat || Tad-bhaktimān
- 13 Mūrtīgānō gun-imdrō va(ba)bhūva bhūpāla-hṛidavja(bja)-sūyah | sad-dīkshayā yasya sa Sūrapāladēvō va(ba)bhūv=āpratīma-prabhāvah || Vasy¹⁹-ākrishtimahā-vidhāna-nīpunō mamtr-ōddhṛitau dakṣiṇō vipram bhūmīpatam tadīyam=athav=āmātyam sa yam dīkshayēt | tam tam vō(bō)dha-midhum [sa]masta-pūthīvi-nātham pradhānam nrinām sthānum
- 14 pa[t*]trinam=ātanōt=tarum=iva śrī-Yājñavalkyō munih || Kāmah²⁰ kumbhī tadupayamanam²¹ tad-bhujastambha-yugmam kīōdhō vyādhir=vachanam=amritan=tasya tach-chhāmti-hētuh | lōbhah śamkē śāsaka-śīśukah kēsari sa prasiddhah sa traidōkyē kim=iha va(ba)hunā Śambhu-sambhāvan ārhah || Asyām bhūmau malahara-[ma]-
- 15 hātī[tha]-yātīā-pīyātām śrāvam śrāvam vaia-yatījanō=nugrahāy=aitam=ēva | ghrāyam ghāyam parimalam=ali-vrāta āsādyā sadyō yadvad=dūrād=vrajatī kusumam sēvatē ch=āpy=ajasiām | Sva²²-śishyavara-bhūpāla-bhakti-lavdhē(bdhē)na bhūrinā | bhūmi-dānēna yō viprān=pūjayām-āsa bhūrinā || Prākhyātō²³ Hariyāna-dēśa-vasatīh śrī-
- 16 Simhapallyām dvijō va(ba)hiv-annō gunavān=Vasāvana itī khyātah prithī vyām=abhūt || tasya śrēsthā-sutah purākrita-mahā-punya-prabhāvād=asau tyaktvā

¹⁰ Metre, Āryā¹¹ s e, tāpasō¹² Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīḍita, and of the next three verses¹³ Perhaps ninyē, gryatām¹⁴ This certainly is the original reading, but a careful examination of the *aksharas* 16 shows that it has been altered, and I would suggest the reading *vara tanuh*¹⁵ s e, jītv ābhāṣān=¹⁶ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh)¹⁷ Metre, Śikharinī¹⁸ Metre, Upajāti, and of the next verse¹⁹ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīḍita²⁰ Metre, Mandākrāntā, and of the next verse²¹ Here, in the original, follow the *aksharas* thathatna-thathathatha²² Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).²³ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīḍita

va(ba)mdhu-dhana-sprhām para-pada-prāptyai sishēvē gurum || Niyama-²⁴ sayama-dhyā-
na-vyagrō gurōh paricharyayā pratidinam=abhūd=dēv-ābhyarchā-kritō kusum-ākulah |
trinam=iva dhanam matvā-

17. sa[t*]tva-sthitau [ma]kar-ākarah sva-guru-hridayē śishyō bhaktim parām
samadarśayat || Gauda-jah²⁵ pravara-pamchak-ānvitō Vatsabhārgava-sugōtra-mamditah |
Bhārgava-Chyavanak Āpnavānakair=Aurvva-nāma-Jama[da]²⁶gnibhir-yutah || Aśēsha²⁷-
śishyēshu parikshya dīkshitah svayam ya īśānaśiv=ēti kīrttitah | tapasvi-rājyē sva-padē=
bhishhē-

18. chitō mahābhujām padmakarō 'bhavad=guruh || Tūryānām²⁸ samnīnādair=ma-
dhukara-madhurair=vallakī-sphīta-gītair=ghamtā-samghatta-ghōshah kusuma-parimal-
air=nartanair=nartakīnām | yasmīn=atyamta-bhaktiyā mahatī Girisutā-vallabham nitya-
rītyā bhīrāmīh pāvitrakī syād=ativa(ba)hala-mahā-pūjyā vīsmītānām || Amritapāla-²⁹
mī—³⁰

19. tara-bhaktitō vasumatī gahan=ānya īh kīrttanaiḥ | kim=aparam grahanēshu na
ganyatē katishu sarva-dhanam dvijasāt=kritam || N³¹=āmī sēvyā vishama-vishayā dushṭa-
hālāhal-ābhā va(ba)ddham kamthē chīram=apī dhanam prānīnam n=ānuyātī | samsārō=
yam sarasa-kadalī-damda-vach=ch=āpy=asāras=tasmād=dhīyam sakalam=aparam dharmā-
tō=nyad=viditvā || Prā³²—³³

20. da ēsha Bharatasya purō hy=akāri yō nāma tumgīma-gunēna jagaj=jigāya |
yad-rāmanīyakam=anuttamam=ākalayya Kailāsa-vāsa-vimukhō vasat=īha Śambhuh ||
Anārata-³⁴prabhramēna³⁵ bhānō khīnō=si vīśrāmya muhūrttam=atra || it=īva sam-
nām=anusamdadhānaś=chalat-patākā-chchbalatō vibhāvī(ti) || Śivālayam³⁶ vīnīrmāpya
pratishthā[ś=cha ?] —³⁷

21. dhānataḥ | prāyachchhad=īśānaśivah śāsanam Bhadanaulīkām | Rūdhā
Rulhābhū[ddham]prāpyaŚiva-bhakti-latā hīyā | Lakshmidhara-Jagatpāla-bhavanaiḥ s=iva
varddhitā || Āhādēgadha³⁸ uttamē samabhavat=sūnīh sa Sōmēśvarō yat-pūjā-paramā
va(ba)[bhāvu]r=akulā lōkāh sadā nāgarāh | tasy=āśēsha-g[u]nā — — — — —
[Ga]mgādharah pamditō vidy-ādāna-rataḥ pa—³⁹

22. graha-bhayād=yō n=akshata kshatryān || Tasmai⁴⁰ dadau Paraśurāma-vu(bu)
dhah sva-putrī[m] Sūh-ābhīdhām Girisutām=iva Parvvatēśah | tasyām=va(ba)bhāvu
suta-pamchatayī kanishthō Gōvīmdachamdra-vīvu(bu)dhah śruti-śāstra-nishthah || Surā-
lay-⁴¹ āā[ma] — — — — —

— — — — — [pra*][śa]stīm=ētām=akarōt=kav-īśvarah ||⁴²
23. — — — — —⁴³ || Utkīrnn⁴⁴=ēyam varnna-vīnyāsa-vidbhīyām Gōgē-Jīhē-
nāmakābhīyām=ubhābhīyām | yad-varnna-ālyō bhāmtī pāshāna-pattē jāti-pushp-ārābdha-
pūj-ōpamānāh || Yāvad⁴⁵= Gamgā sutā Bhā[nō]r=yāvad=bhānu-mī[śā]⁴⁶.
. [pra]śa[stī*]

²⁴ Metre, Harinī

²⁵ Metre, Rathoddhatā.

²⁶ This *akshara* originally was *bha*

²⁷ Metre, Upēndravajrā

²⁸ Metre, Sragdhara.

²⁹ Metre, Drutavilambita

³⁰ s e, nīrah

³¹ Metre, Mandakrāntā.

³² Metre, Vasantatilakā

³³ s e, Prāsā.

³⁴ Metre, Upajati

³⁵ Read *prabhī amanēna*.

²⁵ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh), and of the next verse

²⁷ s e, vi.

²⁸ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīdita

²⁹ s e, pari—

⁴⁰ Metre, Vasantatilakā

⁴¹ Metre, Vamśastha

⁴² Here are about seven illegible *aksharas* which possibly contained a date

⁴³ Metre, Śālinī.

⁴⁴ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).

⁴⁵ Here about 45 *aksharas* are broken away

XI —THE MADHUBAN COPPER-PLATE OF HARSHA,
DATED SAMVAT 25.

By G. BUHLER, Ph D, LL D, C I E.

The subjoined edition of Harsha's lately found grant has been prepared from two paper impressions and an ink print which have been made and furnished to me by Dr J Burgess. The plate was discovered in January 1888, by a cultivator whose ploughshare struck against it in a field near Madhuban, a village in pargana Nathūpur of tahsīl Sagrī, thirty-two miles NE from Âzamgarh, in the North-Western Provinces. It was obtained by Dr. A. Fuhrer from the Collector of Âzamgarh, and is now in the Lucknow Museum

The inscription is incised on a single copper-plate measuring $20\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $13\frac{1}{4}$, and which weighs $8\frac{1}{2}$ lbs, but has no ring or seal. The letters are cut neatly and deeply, so that even in those places where the surface has suffered or the plate is uneven, they have not been quite destroyed or blurred, and the reverse of the impressions shows them distinctly. The alphabet is of the Central Indian type which appears on Dr Bhagvānlāl's inscriptions from Nepāl, Nos 3—15, the Kāmavāna, Jhālrāpātan, Lakkhā Mandal and other inscriptions, as well as on the Hornuzi palm-leaves and the Nepalese Cambridge MS. No. 1049.¹ The characters resemble those of the later epigraphic documents named, especially Dr Bhagvānlāl's No 15, and those of the MSS., more closely than the earlier inscriptions which are known to fall within or immediately after Harsha's reign. Only a few letters, like *ka* and the subscribed *ña*, show more ancient forms than the palm-leaves. As regards *ka*, the curve of the left-hand limb does not join with the upward stroke on the left of the central vertical line. The subscribed *ña* has in *samājñāpayati* (l 10) the older form, which occurs in the Lakkhā Mandal Pīśastī, in *rājñī* (l 12) and *dyñā* (l. 15), the form used in the MSS and Nepal No 15, differing only slightly in the position. On the other hand a good many signs like *tha*, *śa*, *ha* and the numerals for 20, 5 and 6 show somewhat later or more developed forms than those of the documents quoted. The letter-numerals 5 and 6 resemble exactly the figures of the Cambridge MS No 1702, the sign for 20 comes closest to that of the Cambridge MS No 1161.² Peculiar is a small excrescence on the left-hand of *da*, caused by the letter having been made with two strokes, the triangular form of the subscribed *va*, and the slope in the bottom-lines of the letters *pa*, *ma*, *ya*, *va*, *la*, *sa*, and *sha*, which however is not constant. These latter mostly show acute angles, but occasionally nearly right angles.

The inscription is most important for palæographical purposes, and its careful study may be recommended to those scholars who still believe that the epigraphic documents give a clear view of the gradual development of the Indian alphabets. If this Śāsana is compared letter for letter with Dr Bhagvānlāl's No 15, it will appear that the latter, which was incised 128 years later, shows a number of *more archaic* forms. If the Madhuban grant had been accessible when I wrote my palæographic essay on the Hornuzi palm-leaves,³ it would have been much easier to prove that everywhere in India the epigraphic alphabets are in many details retrograde and lag behind the literary ones,

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, vol IX, pp 166 ff, *ibid* vol X, pp 34 ff, *ibid* vol V, pp 180 ff, *ante*, p 10, *Ancedota Oxoniensia*, vol I, pt 3, Bendall's *Catalogue of Sans MSS from Nepāl*

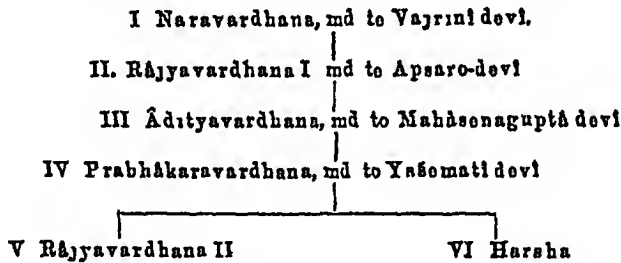
² See Bendall's *Catalogue*, last table

³ *Ancedota Oxoniensia*, vol I, pt 3, pp 63 ff

and to demonstrate more forcibly the great antiquity of the Japanese and of the oldest Nepalese MSS.

The language of the edict is on the whole good Sanskrit, and there are very few clerical mistakes. As regards the spelling, no distinction is made between *ba* and *va*, no doubt because in the seventh century the pronunciation of the two letters was the same, just as at present. In *samvāḍitam* (l. 10) and *samvat* (l. 18) the letter *m* remains unchanged before *va*, which practice is, though against grammar, very common in the inscriptions of the fourth and later centuries, and due to the pronunciation that in this point too agreed with the modern one. Ungrammatical or unidiomatic forms and words occur exclusively in the technical portion of the grant. Among them may be noted *kundadhānīvaishayika* (l. 8) for *kundadhānīvaishayāntahpāṭi*, *bhuktakah* (l. 10) for *bhuktah*, *sarvaparihritaparihārah* (l. 11) for *parihritasarvoparihārah*, **samakālīnah* (l. 11) for **samakālīkah*. Very interesting is the incorrect form *pramātāra*, which twice (l. 9 and l. 17) occurs in the middle of a compound. It can only be explained as caused by the influence of the vernacular language which must have had then as now forms in *tār*, spelt *tāra*, such as *kartār*, instead of the Sanskrit words ending in *tr*.

The historical information which the inscription furnishes, is throughout most interesting. Great Harsha is known as one of the most eminent kings of India. His life and the lives of his immediate predecessors have been described by Bāna and by Hiuen Tsiang. It is therefore most important to see, if what he says about himself and his family agrees with the accounts in the *Śrīharshacharita* and in the *Si-yu-ki*. The result of the comparison is on the whole favourable, especially for Bāna. But we obtain some valuable additions to the facts already known. The genealogy of Harsha's family—the Vaiśyas of Sthānviśvara⁴—stands now as follows —



The names of the first three kings and those of their queens are new. Both Hiuen Tsiang and Bāna omit them, the latter mentioning in their stead the remote founder of the family Pushpabhūti or, as the correct spelling of the name probably was, Pushyabhūti⁵. They seem however to have stood on Mr. Fleet's Sonpat seal of Harsha, on the

⁴ Sir A. Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 377, is right when he asserts that the French translation of Hiuen Tsiang's *Pei shé* was wrong in making Harsha of the Vaiśya caste, and that the intermarriages with the Rājput families of Valabhi and Mālva (*recte* Kanauj) prove him to have been a Kshatriya. I also agree with his identification of Harsha's family with the modern Bais Rājputs. I would add that according to Dr. Kielhorn's MS. B, Patañjali on Pāṇini, IV, 1, 170, (vol. II, p. 269, Kielhorn) mentions a country called Vaiśa, an inhabitant of which is named Vaiśya. Dr. Kielhorn prints, according to the majority of his MSS. Naiśa and Naiśya. Though this proceeding is undoubtedly correct, yet it by no means follows that the reading of the majority of the MSS. is the original one, for *na* and *va* are very similar in the ancient alphabet and the writers or correctors might easily make a mistake in the case of a name which does not occur in other literary works. Hence it is not impossible that the *Mahābhārata* has preserved the ancient name of the Bais nobles. The fact that the capital of Harsha's ancestors was Sthānviśvara—Thānesar, is fully proved by Bāna's statements.

⁵ The word *Pushpabhūti* gives no good sense. *Pushyabhūti* is a Nakshatra name, and means "he to whom Pushya may give welfare." There are numerous similar ancient names like *Aśvābhūti*, *Somabhūti*, *Nāgabhūti*, *Indrabhūti*, and so forth. The modern Devanāgarī MSS. constantly interchange *pa* and *ya*, especially in compound letters.

facsimile of which (l. 5) the end of the name of Prabhākaravardhana's mother is visible in the words *naguptādevyām utpannah.*⁶ As all three receive the simple title *mahārāja*, it follows that their power was not great, and it is even doubtful if they were independent. For in the fourth, fifth, sixth and later centuries of our era the title *mahārāja* was commonly given to great vassals, as the Valabhi and numerous other inscriptions prove. The position of the fourth ruler, Prabhākaravardhana, was of course different. As he is called *paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *mahārādhirāja*, he must have been an independent sovereign and a man of some consequence. He no doubt owed his prosperity to his own valour. Bāna mentions his successful wars against his northern neighbours, the king of Gandhāra and the Hūnas in the Himālayas, against the king of Sindh in the west, and against the rulers on his southern frontier, the Gūrjaras, i.e., those of Bhīnmāl in Rājputānā, the Lātas, i.e., the Gūrjaras of Bharooh, who no doubt assisted their northern clansmen, and against the king of Mālava.⁷ The same author gives also a number of other data which prove that Prabhākaravardhana's wars did not lead to permanent conquests of the countries or tribes which he combated and may have vanquished. Thus he tells us that shortly before his death the king sent his eldest son "into the north-country in order to exterminate the Hūnas."⁸ Again, we hear⁹ that immediately after Prabhākaravardhana's death the king of Mālava was powerful enough to destroy the kingdom of the Maukharī Grahavarman, the son-in-law of the ruler of Sthānviśvara, and to slay him, as well as that he intended to attack Thāneśar. That does not look as if Mālava had suffered much at the hands of its foe. Another remark which Bāna makes on the same occasion warns us against forming too high an opinion of the extent of Prabhākaravardhana's kingdom. He says that after Grahavarman's death, his wife Rājyaśrī was thrown into prison at Kanyakubja, and lay there in fetters. Hence Kanyakubja seems to have been the independent state which Grahavarman governed and the kingdom of Sthānviśvara which Prabhākaravardhana held, cannot have extended far eastwards. It seems probable that his possessions did not go beyond the limits of the kingdom of Thāneśar which Hsuen Tsiang describes (Beal's *Si-yu-li*, vol. I, p. 183ff), and which, as Sir A. Cunningham (*Ancient Geography*, p. 328ff) suggests, probably included portions of the Southern Panjāb and of Eastern Rājputānā. A state, the circuit of which amounted to 7000 li or 1200 miles, might exercise a considerable influence, keep its neighbours in fear, and afford to a very talented king the means for greater conquests, but its ruler cannot have been a *chakravartin*.

The further description of Prabhākaravardhana in our grant is obviously

⁶ See *Corpus Inscr. Indicarum*, vol. III, plate xxxvB. I owe a set of the plates and of a portion of the text of this unpublished work to the kindness of the author. Since writing the above, I have received Mr. Fleet's text, from which (p. 232) it appears that he has made out the names of the second and third kings and of the third queen.

⁷ *Sriharshacharita*, p. 274 (Kāśmīr edition), where the foes of Prabhākaravardhana are briefly enumerated and in a somewhat different order.

⁸ *Sriharshacharita*, p. 326, चय कदाचिद्राजा राज्यवर्धनं कश्चर हनान्तरं । उत्तरापथं माहिषीत् । The issue of this expedition does not seem to have been favourable, as Bāna speaks on Rājyaśrī's return of hard fights, but not of booty brought back, see p. 376.

⁹ *Sriharshacharita*, pp. 391-392, पिशाचानामिव औषासामां चरितानि स्निग्धप्रहारीणि प्रायशो भवन्ति यतो यस्मिन्मह्यमपि विचरत् तस्मिन्मह्यं यस्मिन्नेव द्वीपे चरन्तो दुरात्मना माखरालीन जीवलीकमात्मनः सुकृतेन सह त्वान्ति । मददारिकापि राज्यश्रीं आवायसन्निभयुगवृत्तिचरणा श्रीराज्ञेन सयता कम्पुले कारायां निविता । किंवदन्ती च यया किलानायकं साधनं सत्वा जिघृक्षुः सुदुर्गतिरेतामपि सुवसानिभविषतीति । The speaker is Samvādaka, a servant of Rājyaśrī. My interpretation of this passage follows Dr. Hall, *Vāṇavādātīkā*, p. 52, who says that Kanyakubja was Grahavarman's capital. Grahavarman and his father Avantivarman are always spoken of by Bāna as independent princes.

conventional. The same expressions occur also on the Asirgadh seal of the Maukhari Śarvavarman, and apply there to the first king Harivarman. The only other statement which possesses a historical value is the assertion that Prabhākaravardhana was "a most devout worshipper of the Sun" Bāna, too, says of him (in the *Śrīharshacharita* p. 274)—"And owing to his natural disposition this prince became a worshipper of the Sun." He goes on describing at length the king's daily devotions, adding that the recitation of the *Ādityahrūdaya*—a still much-used *stotra*—formed part of them. The name of Prabhākaravardhana's queen is likewise known from Bāna's poem. In the latter she is however called Yaśovati, not Yaśomati¹⁰ This vacillation in two contemporaneous sources is another instance showing how little the Hindus care about the form of a name provided the sense remains the same.

Prabhākaravardhana's eldest son Rājyavardhana ruled, as Bāna and Huen Tsiang tell us, for a short time only. Soon after his father's death he set out in order to punish the king of Mālava and to avenge the destruction of Grahavarman. He was successful, defeated and slew his foe. But before he returned home, he followed an invitation of the king of Gauda (*Śrīharshacharita*) or Karna Suvarna (*Si-yu-li*),—named, according to one MS. of the *Śrīharshacharita*, Naiendīagupta and according to the *Si-yu-li* Śaśānka,—who treacherously killed him, because he feared his military ability." The grant in the main confirms these statements. The verse inserted, ll. 6-7, declares that after defeating various kings, Devagupta and others, Rājyavardhana "gave up his life in the mansion of his foe owing to his adherence to a promise." Assuming the correctness of Bāna's account (*Śrīharshacharita*, pp. 393-394), according to which the expedition against Mālava followed immediately after Prabhākaravardhana's death and Rājyavardhana was slain some months¹² later, it may be suggested that Devagupta was the name of the Mālava king. The latter certainly was the chief foe, and the conquest of his kingdom is attested by the further statement of Bāna that Bhandin, who had accompanied Rājyavardhana, brought the booty from Mālava to Haisla when the latter had reached the territory of Kumāra-Bhaskaravarman on his expedition of revenge against the king of Gauda¹³ I may add that the word *Mālava* need not refer here or in the other passages of the *Śrīharshacharita* to the Mālava in Central India. There was another Mālava in the Panjāb, much nearer to Thānesar, which may be meant.

Another statement of the grant which possesses some interest is that Rājyavardhana was a Saugata or Buddhist (l. 6). If Bāna, himself a Brāhman, does not

¹⁰ See e.g., pp. 273, 274, 275, 278, 279, 281 of the Kāśmir edition. [Eight of the best MSS. of the *Harshacharita*, however, read 'Yasomati,' which reading I have adopted in my forthcoming edition of the text and commentary.—A F.]

¹¹ The story is told, *Śrīharshacharita*, p. 399, and frequently alluded to, e.g., in the second introductory verse of *Uchchheda*, VI, 376. Huen Tsiang's account occurs in Benl's *Si-yu-li*, vol. I, p. 210, and St Julien, *Œ*, p. 112. Sir A. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, makes the name of Śaśānka's country to be Kiranasuvarna. Neither this nor M. St Julien's translation is certain.

¹² Bāna says, p. 396 अतिक्रान्तिं बहुवासरेषु कटाचित्तयेद् भावमनष्टुःखसिकया दत्तप्रजागरस्त्रिमासशेषाय त्रियामायामिदं केन नोयमानमिदमाया युयाव । The listener is Harsha. The news of his brother's death came on the following day. It seems impossible to understand the phrase "when many days had passed" otherwise than that *some months*, not a full year, had elapsed since Rājyavardhana's departure.

¹³ *Śrīharshacharita*, p. 172. I may add that Bhandin was not the minister of Rājyavardhana, as Huen Tsiang says, nor "a subject of high rank" entrusted with the two brothers' education, as Dr. Hall (*Vāṇavadattā*, p. 52) asserts. Bāna, 299, states plainly that he was the son of queen Yaśovati's brother, who at the age of eight years became the attendant of the two princes, अस्मिन्नेव तु काले यमीदृश्या साक्षा सुतमष्टवर्षदेशीयम् . . . अस्मिन्नामानमनुचर कमरवीरपितृवाम्. Dr. Hall has already pointed out that Huen Tsiang's account of the part which Bhandin played in setting Harsha on the throne does not agree with Bāna's narrative. It is no doubt incorrect.

mention it, there is no reason for wondering at his reticence. But it is certainly curious that the fact—for such it must be considered—escaped the notice of Hsuen Tsiang, who is so anxious to record every point in favour of his faith and who occasionally, it would seem, exaggerates its influence in India. Such an exaggeration of the Chinese pilgrim is laid bare by the only direct statement concerning Harsha which the grant contains. Harsha calls himself a most devout worshipper of Maheśvara or Śiva, “who like Maheśvara is compassionate towards all created beings.” It agrees with this assertion that the emblem on the Sonpat seal is a reclining Nandi. Hsuen Tsiang, on the other hand, tries to make out that Harsha was a Buddhist or full of faith in Buddha from the beginning. He tells us an obviously fictitious story describing how Harsha was prevented from mounting the throne and induced to take the title *kumāra* by a Bodhisattva, who miraculously appeared to him in return for his worship.¹⁴

In the genealogical portion of the grant Harsha says nothing more about himself, and to our regret thereby sets an example which few Indian princes have imitated. But indirectly we learn something more about him from his edict. First, the wording of the verse in ll. 16-17, and the reverential manner in which the grant in l. 13 speaks of “the feet” of the elder brother, prove that Harsha really felt the strong attachment and great regard for Rājyavardhana of which Bāna speaks very frequently. Otherwise he would not treat him here with almost greater reverence than his parents. Secondly, we learn from the edict that Harsha really was a poet. The second admonitory verse, ll 16-17, gives us a maxim proclaimed by Harsha. Its wording proves beyond a doubt that the king superintended the drafting of the grant, and that this verse at least is his own composition. The fact that the first admonitory verse contains the same sentiments which are usually given in such passages, but in its form differs from all the known parallel passages, makes it probable that it likewise belongs to him. Under these circumstances I feel inclined to ascribe to him also the verse on Rājyavardhana. Instances in which kings took a part in the composition of their inscriptions are not common. No 15 of Dr Bhagvānlāl’s Nepāl series, where five verses are stated to be “the clever king’s own composition,” proves, however, that such things did occur. In the case of Harsha it is not astonishing that he took an interest in such matters, as we still possess three plays which go under his name and probably, in part at least, proceeded from his pen. The third piece of information, a confirmation of Hsuen Tsiang’s account of his military career, is furnished by the particulars regarding the donation. The object of the grant is to transfer the village of Somakundikā situated in the *visaya* of Kundadhāni, and in the *bhukti* of Śrāvastī, to two learned Brāhmins, the *Sāmavedī* Bhatta Vātasvāmin of the Sāvarnigotra and the *Rigvedī* Bhatta Śivadevasvāmin of the Vishnuvridha gotra. The village had formerly been enjoyed on the strength of a *forged śāsana* by one Vāmarathya, from whom it is now taken after destroying the old plate. The latter point is of some interest, as it shows that the rules of the *Smṛitis* which settle the punishment for forgers of royal edicts, were not unnecessary, and that ancient forgeries existed. As the village granted by Harsha was situated in the *bhukti* of Śrāvastī, it is evident that he had conquered at the time a very considerable portion of Northern and Central India. The *dūtaka*,

¹⁴ Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol I, p 212. Doubts about Hsuen Tsiang’s veracity have been emitted by Mr Boyd, *Nāgārjuna*, pp 1x—xi, who correctly states that the events narrated by him do not bear out his assertion that Harsha was a thorough-going Buddhist.

or officer charged with the execution of the grant, was the *Mahāsāmanta-mahārāja* Skandagupta who held the office of *pramātri*. This personage is probably the same Skandagupta who, according to Bāna,¹⁵ was "the master of the elephant" at the death of Rājyavardhana and addressed to his prince the well-known speech full of political wisdom and historical allusions. The order to engrave the inscription was given by the chief of the *mahākshapatālika's* office, or the great keeper of the records, *sāmanta-mahārāja* Īśvaragupta, and it was carried out by one Gurjara, whose name no doubt is derived from his caste.¹⁶

The date of the grant, Samvat 25, Mārgaśīrsha vadi 6, clearly refers to the Śrīharsha era. Since the discovery of Mr. Bendall's inscription¹⁷ of Amśuvarman, dated Samvat 34, it is not doubtful that the era began in 606 A. D. Our date consequently corresponds to November-December 631 or, if the years are taken as elapsed, to 632 A. D. I am unable to offer any suggestion regarding the situation of Pinthikā, where Harsha's camp of victory, which included elephants, horses and boats, was located at the time when the edict was issued.

TRANSCRIPT.

- L 1. श्री¹⁸ स्वस्ति महानौहस्यश्वजयस्कन्धावारात् पितृकायाः महाराजश्रीनरवर्धनस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः श्रीवन्निषीदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परमादित्यभक्तो
- L 2. महाराजश्रीराज्यवर्धनस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः श्रीअप्सरोदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परमादित्यभक्तो महाराजश्रीमददित्यवर्धनस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः श्रीमहा-
- L 3. सेनगुप्तादेव्यामुत्पन्नश्चतुःसमुद्रातिक्रान्तकीर्तिः प्रतापानुरागोपनतान्वराजो वर्षाश्रमव्यवस्थापनप्रह-
त्तचक्र एकचक्रय इव प्रजानामार्तिहरः
- L 4. परमादित्यभक्तः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीप्रभाकरवर्धनस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः सितय-
शःप्रतानविष्कृतसकलभुवनमण्डलः परिगृहीत-
- L 5. धनदवर्णेन्द्रप्रभृतिलोकपालतेजाः सत्यश्रीपार्ष्णितानेकप्रविणभूमिप्रदानसम्प्रीणितार्थिहृदयोति-
श्रयितपूर्वराजचरितो देव्याममलयशोमत्यां
- L 6. श्रीयशोमत्यामुत्पन्नः परमसौगतः सुगत इव परहितैकरतः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीराज्य-
वर्धनः राजानो युधि दुष्टवाजिन इव श्रीदेवगुप्ता -
- L 7. दयः
कृत्वा येन कथाप्रहार विमुखा सर्व्वे समं संयता [।]
उत्खाय द्विपतो विजित्य वसुधां कृत्वा प्रजानां प्रिय
प्राणानुष्कृतवानरातिभवने सत्यानुरोधेन यः [॥]¹⁹ तस्यानुज -
- L 8. स्तत्पादानुध्यातः परमसाहेश्वरो महेश्वर इव सर्व्वसत्त्वानुकम्पी परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-
श्रीहर्षः आवस्तीभुक्तौ कुण्डधानीवैपयिकसोमकुण्डिकाग्रामे
- L 9. समुपगतां²⁰ महासामन्तमहाराजदीन्साधसाधनिकप्रमातारराजस्थानीयकुमारासात्योपरिर्कावय-
यपतिभट्टचाटसेवकादीन्प्रतिवासिजनपदाश्च समा -

¹⁵ *Śrīharshacharita*, p. 417

¹⁶ It may be mentioned that Gurjara *sūts adhān* as met within the present day

¹⁷ *Journey to Nepal*, pp. 71-76

¹⁸ L 1 Read श्री

L 2 Read अप्सरो, श्रीमदादित्य

L 5 Read अपवय, It looks as if the engraver had tried to remove the vowel ;

¹⁹ Metro of the verse, Śārdūlavikrīṭita

²⁰ L 9 Read समुपगतान्, the Sanskrit form of प्रमातार is प्रमाट Read जनपदाश्च, the reading of the plate may be जनपदाश्च

- L. 10. प्रापयत्यस्तु वः सन्विदितमयं सोमकुण्डकाग्रामी ब्राह्मणवामरथ्येन कूटशासनेन भुक्तक इति विचार्य
यतस्तच्छासनं भङ्क्ता तस्मादाक्षिप्य च स्वसीमा-
- L. 11 पर्यन्तः सोद्रङ्गः सर्वराजकुलाभाव्यप्रत्यायसमेतः सर्वपरिहृतपरिहारो विषयाद्भृतपिण्डः पुत्रयौ-
क्षानुगः चन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालीनौ
- L. 12. भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन मया पितुः परमभट्टारकमहाराधिराजश्रीप्रभाकरवर्द्धनदेवस्य मातुः परम-
भट्टारिकामहादेवीराज्ञीश्रीयशोमतीदेव्याः
- L. 13. ज्येष्ठभ्रातृपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीराज्यवर्द्धनदेवपादानां च पुण्ययशोभिद्वये सावर्त्तिस-
गोत्रच्छन्दीगसंभ्रजचारिभट्टवातस्वामि -
- L. 14 विष्णुद्वन्द्वसगोत्रवद्भृचसंभ्रजचारिशिवदेवस्वामिभ्यां प्रतिग्रहधर्मणाग्रहारत्वेन प्रतिपादितः विदित्वा
भवद्भिः समनुमन्तव्यः प्रति
- L. 15 वासिजनपदैरप्याश्राश्रयणविधेयैर्भूत्वा यथासमुचिततुल्यमेयभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिप्रत्यायाः अन-
योरेवोपनेयाः सेवोपस्थानं च करणीयमित्य-
- L. 16. पि च ॥
असक्तकुलकुलममुदारमुदाहरन्निरन्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनोयं [1]
सत्प्रसास्तडित्सलिलचंचलाया दान फल परयशःपरिपालनं च ॥²¹
कर्मणा
- L. 17. मनसा वाचा कर्तव्यं प्राणिनेहितं [1]
हर्षयेतसमाख्यात²²धर्मार्जनमनुत्तमं ॥
दूतकोश महाप्रमातारमहासामन्तश्रीस्कन्दगुप्तः महाक्षयटलाधिकरणाधि -
- L. 18. कृतसामन्तमहाराजेश्वरगुप्तसमादेशाञ्जोत्कीर्णं गुर्जरेण सम्बत् २० + ५ मार्गशीर्षवदि ६

TRANSLATION.

Om Hail! From the great camp of victory (*containing*) boats, elephants and horses, from Pinthikā²³—the great king, the illustrious Naravardhana; his son who meditated on his (*father's*) feet (*was he who was*) born from the illustrious queen Vajrīṇī, a most devout worshipper of the Sun, the great king, the illustrious Rājyavardhana. His son who meditated on his (*father's*) feet (*was he who was*) born from the illustrious queen Apsaras, a most devout worshipper of the Sun, the great king, the illustrious Adityavardhana. His son who meditated on his (*father's*) feet (*was he who was*) born from the illustrious queen Mahāsenaguptā, he whose fame passed beyond the four oceans, he whose sovereign power was employed in settling (*the system of*) castes and orders, who like (*the deity*) with the single-wheeled chariot²⁴ removed the torments of his subjects, a most devout worshipper of the Sun, the supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, the illustrious Prabhākaravardhana. His son who meditated on his

L. 10 Read संविदितमयं सोमकुण्डकाग्रामी. The dot above व may, however, be accidental.

L. 11 Read विषयाद्भृत.

²¹ Metre of the first verse, Vasantatilakā, of the second, Anuṣṭubh

²² L. 17 Read हर्षयेतस.

²³ The ablatives must be construed with *samāhāpayati* below, ll 9-10

²⁴ Though I am unable to prove my supposition by the quotation of parallel passages or of *Koshas*, I think that the sun is meant, the single wheel of whose chariot may here, as in the *Rigveda*, represent the year. The next two kings are likewise compared with those gods whom they particularly worshipped

(father's) feet (*was he*) who overspread the circle of the whole world with the canopy of his brilliant fame; who completely appropriated the lustre of the guardians of the world, Dhanada, Varuna, Indra and so forth; who gladdened the hearts of needy men by gifts of many excellent²² (*pieces of*) land gained in a righteous manner; who was born from the queen possessing spotless fame, the illustrious Yāmatī,—a most devout worshipper of Sugata, who like Sugata solely found pleasure in doing good to others, the supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, the illustrious Rājyavardhana; "By whom, plying his whip in battle, the kings Devagupta and others—who resembled wicked horses—were all subdued with averted faces; who, after uprooting his enemies, after conquering the earth, and doing what was agreeable to his subjects, in consequence of his adherence to his promise gave up his life in the mansion of his foe" His younger brother who meditates on his (*elder brother's*) feet, a most devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who like Mahēśvara is compassionate towards all created beings, the supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, the illustrious Harsha, addresses (*this*) order to the great feudal barons, the great kings, *Dauśādhasādhanikas*,²³ *Pramātris*,²⁴ viceroys, princes, ministers, *Uparikas*, rulers of districts, regular and irregular soldiers, servants and others, as well as to the provincials of the neighbourhood, assembled in the village of Somakundikā which belongs to the district (*vishaya*) of Kuṇḍadhāni in the *bhukti* of Śrāvastī:

"Be it known to you that, having considered that this village of Somakundikā has been enjoyed²⁵ by the Brahman Vāmarathya on the strength of a forged edict, having therefore broken that edict and having taken (*the village*) from him, I have granted it, up to its boundaries, together with the *udraṅga*, together with (*the right to*) all the income which ought to accrue to the house of the king,²⁶ endowed with all immunities (*with the right of*) inheritance by sons and grandsons, (*for a period*) lasting as long as moon, sun and earth (*endure*), according to the maxim concerning land unfit for tillage,²⁷ for the increase of the merit and fame of (*my*) father, the supreme lord

²² *Pravaha* cannot here have its usual meaning "inclining towards" I take it in the sense of *uddra* which is given in some *Koshas*, and as a synonym of *pravara*. The latter term is sometimes found in parallel passages of inscriptions.

²³ Literally "those charged with the accomplishment of what is difficult to accomplish" If this term, which occurs also in other inscriptions (see e.g. *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, p. 167, l. 29), is identical with *dauśādhanika* (see A. Weber, *Hdla.* 406, 557), it means perhaps "policeman," or, as Professor Weber thinks, "doorkeeper."

²⁴ Regarding the term *pramātri*, found here and below, l. 10, see the note on verse 36 of the second Baijānāth Prasthiti (*inf*), and regarding the form *pramātdra*, see above, p. 68.

²⁵ The text has *bhuktakāḥ*. The addition of a meaningless affix *ka* to participles in *mda*, *na* and *ta*, which, I think, is owing to the influence of the Prakrit dialects, occurs very frequently in the Central Indian inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries. See e.g. Mr. Fleet's volume, quoted above, page 130, l. 9, *utpannakotpadyamānaka*, p. 137, l. 11, *kāritaka* and so forth.

²⁶ Analogous expressions such as *samuchitarādhādyakarapratyādyāna grāhyā* occur in the Karikalai copper-plate inscription of M. Jayanātha (Fleet, *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 118, ll. 11-12) and other grants of the same series. Mr. Fleet interprets them however differently. I dissolve the compound by *sarva-rājakula-dhādyā-pratyādyā-sametaḥ* and take *dādhāya* in the sense of *dādhāyastava*.

²⁷ My translation of *bhūmikṣāḥṣṭra* by 'land unfit for tillage' rests on a passage of Yādava's *Yayayantī*, where we read according to a MS. sent to me by Dr. Oppert (now India Office Bühler Sansk. MSS., No. 146) in the *Taittyādyā* of the *Bhūmikāṇḍa*, III, 8, 10b-17:

केदारं केदारं येनसुवरा सर्वससम् ॥ १६ ॥

भूमिच्छिद्रं जलवीर्या महतं नावसुयितम् ।

चित्तं तमहतं स्थानसूत्रमूर्धरेरिणे ॥ १७ ॥

The maxim concerning ground unfit for tillage is probably that enunciated by Manu, IX, 44, that "a field belongs to him who cleared away the lumber" The ultimate sense of the expression is, therefore, that the land in question is made over to the donee with the same full right of ownership which the first cultivator would have possessed who reclaimed it.

and supreme king of great kings, His Majesty the illustrious Prabhâkaravardhana, of (*my*) mother, the supreme lady and great queen, Her Majesty the illustrious queen Yaśomatī, and of the feet of (*my*) elder brother, the supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, His Majesty the illustrious Rājyavardhana,—to Bhatta Vātasvāmin, a member of the Sāvarnī gotra, and a fellow-student of the *Chhandogas* (*a Sāmavedī*) and to Bhatta Śivadevasvāmin, a member of the Viṣṇuvriddha gotra and a fellow-student of the *Bahvrīchas* (*a Rigvedī*), as a duly accepted³¹ *agrahāra* Knowing this you should agree (*to it*), and the provincials of the neighbourhood being obedient to (*my*) command should bring to these two (*donees*) alone the due income, which is to be given according to weight and according to measure, (*viz.*) the share (*of the crops*), the (*objects of*) enjoyment,³² the taxes, the gold and so forth, and they should do them service”

Moreover, “By those who profess (*to belong to*) the noble line of our race and by others this gift ought to be agreed to Gifts and the protection of the fame of others (*are*) the result of fortune that is unstable like lightning or a water-bubble” “With deeds, thoughts and words living beings should do their duty. Harsha has declared that an unsurpassable (*mode of*) acquiring spiritual merit.”³³

The messenger (*charged with the order*) concerning this (*grant is*) the great feudal baron, the great king Skandagupta, and (*the edict*) has been incised by Gurjara at the command of the great chief of the office of records, the feudal baron, the great king Īśvaragupta, [*Śriharsha*]-Samvat 25 Mārgaśirsha, dark half, the sixth (*lunar day*)

XII.—THE DEWAL PRASASTI OF LALLA THE CHHINDA.

BY G. BÜHLER, Ph.D., LL.D., O.I.E.

The Dewal Prasasti was originally discovered by Mr. H. S. Boulderson in 1829, at the village of Gaḍh Gajāna, on the west bank of the Kāvā or Katnī stream, between Dewal and Deoriyā, about twenty miles south-east of Pilibhit, in the North-Western Provinces¹

The inscription is incised with great neatness and care on a stone slab, measuring 3' 9" by 2' 1", and is in a state of almost perfect preservation. The characters are ancient Nāgarī, differing from the ordinary type of the tenth century only in that the loops on the left hand of *na* and *ma* are not closed, but represented by a curve Similarly

³¹ *Pratigrahadharmanā*, i. e., *pratigraho dharmo yasya tena*.

³² I understand by *bhoga* ' (*objects of*) enjoyment ' the so called *haks*, fruit, firewood, flowers, pan, etc., which the villagers have to furnish to their lord either daily or on certain occasions,—see also Mann, VII, 118, and the note to my translation of the passage

³³ Both verses are composed on the model of ancient ślokas, the first according to some commonly quoted in other grants, the second according to one from the *Mahābhārata*, see Böthlingk, *Indische Sprüche*, No. 1560

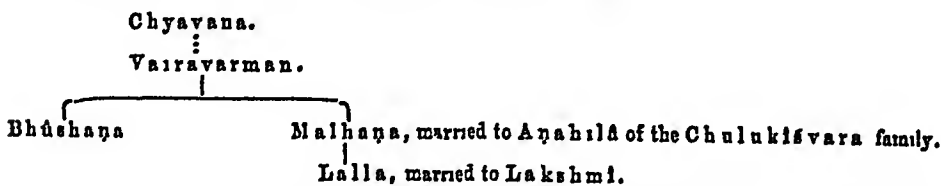
¹ The document was first published with a translation in the *Jour As Soc Beng*, vol. VI, p. 777, by Mr. J. Prinsep, according to a copy taken by Colonel Stacy. A facsimile of l. 1 and of the greater part of l. 2 accompanies Prinsep's paper. See also Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. I, pp. 321—324. Later a complete facsimile was published by Sir A. Cunningham, *Archæological Reports*, vol. I, p. 354ff. The subjoined edition has been prepared according to an excellent paper impression taken by Dr. A. Führer, of the Archæological Survey, North Western Provinces, and sent to me by the Editor

the left limb of *ka* in the group *ksha* is curved upwards. In all other respects the letters closely resemble those of the Paramāra, Rāṭhor, and other inscriptions of the same period. As in most other inscriptions from Northern India, we find here no distinction between the letters *ba* and *va*, which doubtless were pronounced alike. In *rājahanṣī*, l. 8, the dental *na* is substituted for the *anustāra*. The letter *pha* has a very archaic form. Owing to the peculiarity mentioned above and guided by a peculiar interpretation of a statement of the copyist who in verse 36 calls himself "acquainted with crooked letters" (*kutilāḥsharāṇi*), Mr. Prinsep has called the alphabet of this inscription the *Kuṭila* alphabet. It seems to me, however, that there is no sufficient reason for doing so. I cannot see anything particularly crooked in any of the letters, and do not think it likely that the very slight modifications in three signs could have caused the alphabet to be designated by a special name. Moreover, if the writer says that he was acquainted with crooked letters, the natural interpretation of the phrase seems to be that it refers to his skill in reading badly written and difficult documents, not that he was acquainted with letters called *Kuṭila*. For there is nowhere else an indication that an alphabet of this name existed. Nor could the knowledge of such ordinary easily read characters as those of our inscription become the subject of a boast on the part of a professional scribe. If a writer wishes to extol his skill, he will of course say that he is proficient in the difficult local alphabets, used by the professional classes, such as the Modī, Lāṇḍe, &c., which all, indeed, are very "crooked" and are not easily deciphered. I would, therefore, remove the term *Kuṭila* alphabet from Indian palæography and describe the letters of the Dewal inscription as Nāgarī of the North Indian type.

The language is very high-flown Sanskrit, which, however, is not quite free from mistakes. When the author speaks, verse 21, of "holy *śāsanas*, situated on the banks of pure rivers," he uses the word *śāsana* in the sense of "villages granted by *śāsanas* or edicts," for which meaning it might be difficult to find good authority. Again, the use of *anabhāra*, in verse 11, is very curious. Further, the construction of *samvaddhā*, verse 82, with the locative instead of with the instrumental is ungrammatical. Finally, there are some cases where words seem to have been put in merely in order to make up the verse.

The inscription records the erection of two temples dedicated respectively to Śiva and to Pārvatī and of certain donations made to them. The founders were the provincial chief, Lalla of the Chhinda family, and his wife Lakshmi.

The pedigree of the former is given as follows.—



The allusion in verse 4 to Chyavana's quarrel with Indra shows that the person intended is the mythical sage of the Bhārgava tribe, who according to the Vedic and Purāṇic legends married Sukanyā, the daughter of king Śaryāta or Śaryāti, a son or descendant of Manu Vairasvata. The Chhinda family would, therefore, seem to have claimed connexion with the Solar line of Kshatriyas. Its name occurs elsewhere only in the Jaina lists. It is found in the slightly different form Chhindaka in the *Ratna-*

koṣha,¹ and in the *Kumārāpḍlacharita*² of Jinamandana where the thirty-six Rājput tribes are likewise enumerated.

The description of the four Ohhinda chiefs named is almost purely conventional. In spite of the extravagant praise of their bravery and warlike exploits, it may be considered as certain that they were only ordinary feudatories, obeying a paramount power, possibly the king of Kanauj. The real facts recorded are very few. Regarding Malhana it is said in verse 11 that he was a Śaiva, and in verse 13 that his consort Anahilā belonged to the royal Chulukiśvara race. The latter name is, I think, an equivalent of the better-known one Chaulukya. The Chaulukyas derive their origin from a mythical hero Chuluka, who is said to have been created from Brahman's waterpot (*chuluka*). Chulukiśvara may stand either for *chuluki(n)-īśvara* or, as I believe to be more likely, with a somewhat irregular sandhi for *chulukya-īśvara*, and may be translated the Chulukya lords. Malhana's marriage seems to have been above his rank and a source of pride to the family. The definite statements regarding his son Lalla are—that he brought the Katha river to his unnamed capital, verse 22, and that he built the temples of Śiva and Pārvata in conjunction with his wife Lakshmi, endowing them with some villages, situated in the Mayūtā of Bhūshana, to which he gave the name Devapallī, as well as with a fourth of his income. Sir A. Cunningham's researches⁴ have shown that Devapallī is the modern Dewal,⁵ and that the Katha river is the canal still called Katnī-nadī. The latter identification makes it very probable that Lalla's residence was the deserted fort, called Gadh-khera, which is almost surrounded by the canal. As the date of the inscription, Samvat 1049, probably refers to the Vikrama era and thus corresponds to 992-93 A. D., Lalla and the other chiefs named, all lived in the tenth century. Nehila, the author of the *Prasasti*, who, as would appear from his great praise of Lalla's liberality, must have been very well paid for his work, was the son of *Bhatṭa* Śivarudra and belonged to the Vedic *gotra* of Vatsa. The copyist Takshāditya, son of Viśnuhari, was a Gauda Kāyastha, and Somanātha, son of Kāmadeva, the mason, who incised the document, was a native of Kanyakubja—Kanauj.

TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. श्री श्री नमः शिवाय ॥

हेलाहृष्टायपीठाभरनमदचलीत्संगसम्भारदूर भ्रश्यद्भूभारतिर्यन्दलितमणिकणामण्डले भोगिराजे ।
तत्कालीद्भान्तलोकव्रितयकृतमहास्तीव्रमन्त्रावतारः पायाइः पार्त्वि ती]शः शमितदशशिरःश्री -

L. 2. र्यवीर्यावलेपः ॥ [१॥]⁶

गूलचतद्विरददानवकुंभमुक्तसुक्ताकलापकलितामलकण्डकांतिः ।

विश्वं पुनातु गिरिजा वदनावधूतचन्द्रोपनीतपरिवेषमिवीदृहन्ती ॥ [२॥]⁷

लक्ष्मीविभ्रमकेलिसङ्ग सुभटव्यापारलीलास्यदं प्रख्यात -

¹ Aufrecht, *Cat Sansk MSS Bodleian Libr.*, p. 354. The addition of the affix *ka* to names is extremely common, especially in Jaina Sanskrit.

² See *Ind Off Lib.* No. 286, p. 2 (Sansk MSS Bühler). Sir H. Elliot's identification (*Memoirs, &c.*, vol. I, p. 73) of the Chhindas with the Chandels is most improbable, because the words do not agree and the Jaina lists contain both names.

³ *Archaeological Reports*, vol. I, pp. 353 ff.

⁴ [Dewal is called 'Ilāhābās or 'Ilāhābād by the Muhammadans. The Katnī is also known as the Kāvā.—J. B.]

⁵ Metre, Bragdhara. Only the *av* of the syllables *वर्ती* is distinguishable.

⁷ Metre, Vasantatilakā.

- L. 8. क्षितिपालरत्नजलधिः श्रीराजहन्सीसरः ।
सहीरव्रततीर्थमर्थिकुसुदप्रज्ञादनेन्दुर्हिष हंशभ्रंशदवानलो विजयतां छिन्दक्षितीशान्वयः ॥ [३॥]⁹
उत्पत्तिरस्य हि पुरा च्यवनान्महर्षेर्व्याक्तव्यलीककलिते क्षिदशाधिनाये ।
तद्वर्णनिर्दलनदत्तकठो -
- L. 4. रट्टेरष्टासु दिक्षु यशसेव सह प्रसिद्धा ॥ [४॥]¹⁰
वंशेक्षितकीर्तिकन्दलवति श्रीवैरवर्माख्यया ख्यातोभूदुवि भूषितावनितलो राजन्ययूडामणिः ।
जन्मस्थानमिवाकलय कमला तुङ्गात्मना भाविनाभर्तृणामवनेशकार चतुरा यस्यालयास्तस्थिति-
म् ॥ [५॥]¹¹
- L. 5. त्यागी धर्मपरः पराक्रमधनः सत्यप्रियः कीर्त्तिमान्सन्मार्गानुगतः शुचिर्दृढमतिर्मानोक्तो
नीतिमान् ।
शौर्यैर्दार्यविवेकधैर्यनिलयो यः सङ्गतः सज्जनैर्युक्तः सर्वगुणोदयेन महतामाराधनीयोभवत् ॥ [६॥]¹²
तस्मादत्युद्यतेजःप्रसरनियमितारा -
- L. 6. तिपद्भीपसंगः श्रीमांयण्डप्रतापः सकलवसुमतीभूषणं भूषणीभूत् ।
यस्योद्योगप्रसर्पद्दलभरदलितश्चातलस्थस्थवीयः शेषाहिष्णासशीपादगमदिरिणतां निर्जलं भोगि-
सद्ग ॥ [७॥]¹³
यत्सैन्यगन्धगजगण्डगलम्बदाशः संजातचन्द्रकशतैरिव सुद्रि -
- L. 7. तासु ।
दूरे विपक्षकरिणो वनदन्तिनोपि भूयो न वारि जगृहुः सरसीधरख्ये ॥ [८॥]¹⁴
यः सेवागतराजचक्रमुकुटोद्भृष्टांघ्रिपीठस्थलो भर्ता यद्यतुरम्बुराशिरशनालंकारवत्या भुवः ।
विशेषैरपि यस्य तै रघुपतेराशीषिताः सिन्धवो यस्तस्यापि महाकुला -
- L. 8. [च]ल इवावष्टभ्य तस्थौ भुवम् ॥ [९॥]¹⁵
यस्यैषा राजधानी रजनिकरकराकारकान्तैर्गुणैर्धैः पूर्णवाद्यापि रम्या स्फुरति मरकतश्यामलैः
काननान्तैः ।
उद्यानैर्ब्रन्दाभेरतिविशदसुधासेकशुभ्रैः सुराणां प्रासादैरुन्नताग्रैरभरपतिपुरीषाङ्गिनीव विभाति ॥
[१०॥]¹⁶
त -
- L. 9. स्यानुजः समभवद्भवभक्तिनम्रः श्रीमल्लहणः परिघपीवरवाहुदण्डः ।
भ्रातुः कृपाणतुलिताहितराजचक्रं यो लीलयैव धवलो धुरमावभार ॥ [११॥]¹⁷
ल[क्ष्मी] ततः स विपुलामपि राजलक्ष्मीं भक्तिं परामकृत देवगुरुहिजेषु ।
- L. 10. प्रीत्यै सुहृत्प्रणयिवन्धुजनेजनिष्ट दुष्टक्षयादतनुतातिसुदं प्रजासु ॥ [१२॥]¹⁸
तस्य प्रियापि सुसुकोश्वरराजवंशसम्भूतिरुज्ज्वलगुणाभरणाभिरामा ।
गीता जगत्प्रणहिलेति समस्तकान्तशृङ्गान्तवक्रकमलेन्दुकला वभूव ॥ [१३॥]¹⁹
तस्यां श्रीलक्ष्मणामाजनि जनितमहामण्डलाधीशशङ्खः शूरः कुन्दे -

⁹ Metro, Śārdūlavikrīḍita¹⁰ Metro, Indravajrā¹¹ Metro, Śārdūlavikrīḍita¹² Metro, Śārdūlavikrīḍita¹³ Metro, Śragdhara.¹⁴ Metro, Vasantatilakā.¹⁵ Metro, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; the first letter of l. 8 is destroyed¹⁶ Metro, Śragdhara¹⁷ Metro, Vasantatilakā¹⁸ Metro, Vasantatilakā, the second syllable of the verse is mutilated, but recognisable.¹⁹ Metro, Vasantatilakā.

- L 11. नृदत्तद्युतितुलितगुणालकतायासुखयः ।
 योसौ सामन्तचक्राचलकनकगिरिर्विह्वलारतिलक्ष्मीतिर्यङ्गान्तापाताहतभुजशिरश्चिह्नद्वयप्र-
 रोहः ॥ [१४]¹⁹
 चिह्नं यदस्य किल जन्मदिने ममन्तात् श्रीमल्लहणस्य भवने परमप्रसीदे ।
 आवेदयंत्युदयम -
- L 12. स्वरतः पपात । भृङ्गालिमङ्गलरवैरिव पुष्पवृष्टिः ॥ [१५]²⁰
 नोन्निद्रा नलिनी न चार्पितमनस्त्रिधा सतां सङ्गति-र्नोत्पुल्लस्तवका नता वनलता श्रीमा ससस्या
 न च ।
 नोहामा कविभारती न च तथा हृद्या शरत्कौसुदी लक्ष्मीर्यस्य यथा बभूव विदुषामानन्दनिश्चिन्दि-
 नी ॥ [१६]²¹
- L 13. किञ्चातैरपरैर्हराधिपतिभिर्मन्ये वृथा रक्षिता येपान्तिष्ठति दुर्भगैव वनिता श्रीरप्यभोग्या गृहे ।
 नाभूदस्ति न नापि कोपि भविता भूपालचूडामणिर्यः श्रीलक्ष्मणरेन्द्रचन्द्रसदृशस्यागेन भीगेन च ॥
 [१७]²²
 आदौ सङ्गरसंगताहितमहामातङ्गकुम्भ[स्य] -
- L 14. ली सिन्दूरारुणकान्तिरुज्ज्वलयश्चस्तेजोभिरिहस्ततः ।
 उत्खातारितमःप्रतापविसरैराक्रान्तदिग्मण्डल स्तिग्मांशोस्तुलनाविभर्त्ति भुवने यन्मण्डलाग्रोष्ठुना ॥
 [१८]²³
 अथौ सुक्तायमाना शिरसि हिमगिरेरभ्रगङ्गायमाना
 व्योम्नि ज्योत्स्नायमाना दिशि दिशि करिणां कुम्भ -
- L 15. मालायमाना ।
 उच्चैर्देवालयानासुपरि सितपताकायमाना यदीया
 कीर्त्तिर्भ्रान्ता समन्तादनुनदि पुलिने राजहंसीयमाना ॥ [१९]²⁴
 कटे काले कलावप्यभिभवति जगत्कूपवापीतडागे रासन्नारामसन्तैः सुरसदनमठैर्भङ्गिताया-
 मसुष्याम् ॥
 रम्यामृद्धिं वहन्त्या -
- L 16. सतिसुजनजनानन्दितायां नगर्यां यस्मिन्मर्मावतारे प्रकृतकृतयुगाभर-
 सन्भावनाभूत् [२०]²⁵
 यः शासनान्यतिसमृद्धजनान्वितानि सीमान्तसस्यवङ्गलानि ददौ द्विजेभ्यः ।
 पार्श्वप्रयस्ततरुपण्डमनोहराणि पुण्यानि निर्मलनदीतटवासभाजि ॥ [२१]²⁶
 गङ्गा भ -
- L 17. गीरथेनेव येन मार्गोपदेशिना ।
 स्त्रपुरीसन्निधौ रमया पुण्या कठनदी कृता ॥ [२२]²⁷
 तस्याभवअणयिनी मधुसूदनस्य लक्ष्मीरिवामलकुलाम्बुनिधेः प्रसृता ।

¹⁹ Metre, Bragdhara.²⁰ Metre, Vasantatilakā.²¹ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, read ०मनःत्रिधा सीमा²² Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.²³ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita. The last letter of line 13 is

destroyed. I do not correct ०उज्ज्वल, because the spelling is permissible.

²⁴ Metre, Bragdhara.²⁵ Metre, Bragdhara.²⁶ Metre, Vasantatilakā.²⁷ Metre, Anushubh

सर्वाविरोधनवधूसुखपद्मपण्य प्राक्षेयवृष्टिरपराभिधयापि लक्ष्मीः ॥ [२३॥]²⁸
भक्त्या च या विनयनमृतया

- L. 18. च पत्युयेतो जहार गुणवत्यनुरागिणी च ।
रम्यं हरद्रिस्तुतयोरिव तत्तथा हि प्रेमापि रुद्धमनयोरितरेतरस्यम् ॥ [२४॥]²⁹
आरामीद्यानवापीषु देवतायतनेषु च ।
कृतानि क्रियमाणानि यस्याः कर्माणि सर्व्वदा ॥ [२५॥]³⁰
दीनानायविपन्नेषु करुणान्वितचेतसः ।
समे -

- L. 19. तु भुञ्जते यस्या विप्रसंघा दिने दिने ॥ [२६॥]³¹
इत्थं विविक्तमनयोः परिवर्द्धमानधर्मप्रबन्धविगलललिकालहृत्थोः ।
एकस्तयोरसुमकारयदिन्दुमौलिः प्रासादमद्रितनयाभवनन्तयाग्या ॥ [२७॥]³²
सुरगृह्यगुमेतमुज्ज्वलैसासन्तुष्टितयतुलितकान्ति श्वेत -

- L. 22. सुखः सुधाभिः ।
वितरति हृदि नान्तर्बिम्बयं कस्य वातप्रहतघनपताकाकपिताश्रीदहन्द्म् ॥ [२८॥]³³
यावत्सकौस्तुभसुरो सुरमर्हन्स्य शम्भोः शशाङ्ककलाभरणं शिरसि ।
यावत्स्त्रितिन्दधति तीयधयः समस्ताः स्तादेव तावदचला भुवि कीर्त्तिरेया ॥ [२९॥]³⁴
स जय -

- L. 23. तु भुवि लक्ष्मिहृद्वंशप्रवीरः सममतिगुणवत्या कान्तया चेह लक्ष्म्या ।
रिपुजगमदपंकङ्गाविताग्रेण येन प्रतिरणमसिनैवालेखि दिक्षु प्रशस्तिः ॥ ३०॥³⁵
भूत्यै सदैव भवने कृतसंनिधाना नानाविधानि दुरितानि विनाशयन्ती ।
साप[त्न्य]दारपरिवर्त्नी[सु] -

- L. 24. हृत्प्रणय श्रीलक्ष्मणलपतेरनघास्तु देवी ॥ [३१॥]³⁶
भूषणस्य भयूतायां सख्यया भूमिरुत्तमा ।
विधाय देवपत्नीति देवयोः प्रतिपादिता ॥ [३२॥]³⁷
पूजासंस्कारहेतीत्य शिवयोः शासनीकृतः ।
दानादायस्य पादोपि श्रीलक्ष्मेन सुकीर्त्तिना ॥ [३३॥]³⁸
प्रख्यातवत्ससुनिर्वंशससु[वो] -

- L. 25. भूषणीरुपचरितः शिवरुद्रनामा ।
तत्सुनुना विरचिताभिनवा प्रशस्तिरेया प्रसन्नकविता किल नेहिलेन ॥ [३४॥]³⁹
यस्य प्रसन्नसरला पद्मालिकेयं प्रज्ञादहेतुरधिकं सदलंकृतिश्च ॥
श्रीलक्ष्मिर्गौलशुचप्रयनाभिरामा सुक्तावलीव हृदये विदुषां चकास्ति ॥ [३५॥]⁴⁰

²⁸ Metro, Vasantatilakā.

²⁹ Metro, Vasantatilakā.

³⁰ Metro, Anushubh.

³¹ Metro, Anushubh.

³² Metro, Vasantatilakā.

³³ Metro, Mālinī.

³⁴ Metro, Vasantatilakā.

³⁵ Metro, Mālinī

³⁶ Metro, Vasantatilakā, the letters placed between brackets are half destroyed

³⁷ Metro, Anushubh.

³⁸ Metro, Anushubh. Read सुकीर्त्तिना.

³⁹ Metro, Vasantatilakā. The last letter of line 24 is damaged.

⁴⁰ Metro, Vasantatilakā.

- L 26. विष्णुहरेस्तनयेन च लिखिता गीडेन करणिकेष्वपि ।
 कुटिलाचराणि विदुषा तद्वादित्वाभिधानेन ॥ [३६] ॥⁴¹
 कन्यकुजागतेनापि कामदेवसुतेन च ।
 उत्कीर्णा सीमनायेन टङ्गविज्ञानशालिना ॥ [३७] ॥⁴²
 सप्तत्सरसहस्र १०४६ मार्गं वदि ७ गुरुदिने ॥या॥⁴³

TRANSLATION

Om, Om, Adoration to Śiva !

1 May the husband of Pārvatī protect you,—he by whom the manifestation of a charm (*in the shape of*) the *Mahāstotra*, was made in the three worlds that were greatly frightened at that time when the King of Serpents had his jewelled heads obliquely rent by the load of the earth that fell far away in consequence of the multitude of the mountain-plateaux bending under the weight of a gentle pressure of the tip of (*Śiva's*) great toe—he who humbled the pride entertained by the ten-headed (*Rāvana*) on account of his strength and valour.⁴⁴

2 May the Daughter of the Mountain purify the universe—she the spotless splendour of whose throat has been gained through a multitude of pearls fallen from the frontal globes of the Dānava (*who assumed the shape of*) an elephant (*and was*) wounded by (*her*) trident, she who wears as it were the halo surrounding the moon which is surpassed by her face.⁴⁵

3. Victorious be the race of the Chhinda princes, the scene of the coquettish sport of Lakshmi, the field of the playful activity of brave warriors, an ocean containing jewels (*in the shape of*) renowned kings, a lake for the royal swan Śrī, a sacred bathing-place for those who keep the vow of noble heroes, a moon to gladden the needy, (*who may be compared to*) the night lotuses, a forest-fire for the destruction of the families of (*their*) foes (*who resemble*) bamboos

4. Its origin in ancient times from the great sage Chyavana—who sternly frowned in order to break the pride of the Lord of the gods when he was openly tainted by sin⁴⁶—is known in the eight regions of the world together with its fame.

5. In this race which possesses brilliant fame (*comparable to the white flowers of the*) Kandala, was born a crest-jewel of warriors, famous on earth under the appellation 'the illustrious Vairavarman' in whose house the clever goddess of Fortune took

⁴¹ Metre, Āryā.

⁴² Metre, Anuṣṭubh.

⁴³ The word सप्त is superfluous and ought to be expunged. The mistake seems to have been caused by the author having originally intended to give the date both in words and in figures.

⁴⁴ I have rendered the first huge epithet of Śiva as literally as possible, because I do not know the myth to which it refers. Śiva's encounter with Rāvana is frequently alluded to in the *Kāvyas*.

⁴⁵ The demon who assumed the shape of an elephant is no doubt Mahiṣāsur. According to the *Devīmāhātmya*, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, LXXIII, 30, the Āsura turned himself also into a Mahāgaja. When speaking of the halo which surrounds the face of Pārvatī, the poet may have thought of representations, such as are found in Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, plate vii, where her head is surrounded by a glory *Chandropāṇita* which I have taken as equivalent to *chandrāya upāṇita*, may also stand for *chandrena upāṇita*. In the latter case it would indicate that the moon, found on Śiva's crest, transferred his halo to the goddess who is closely united with her husband in the form of *Ārdhanārī*.

⁴⁶ This refers to the quarrel of Indra and Chyavan, caused by the latter's appropriating a share of the offerings to the *Asvins*, see H. H. Wilson's *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, vol. III, p. 248, and Dr F. E. Hall's note thereon. I am unable to find the story in the *Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa* where it ought to stand according to the scholiast.

up her abode, foreseeing, as it were, (*that it would be*) the birth-place of high-minded future lords of the earth ;

6. Who (*Vairavarma*), being liberal, pious, energetic, fond of truth, famous, a follower of the path of the virtuous, pure, of firm intellect, exalted through (*proper*) pride,⁴⁷ politic, the abode of valour, munificence and discernment, an associate of the virtuous, (*and*) endowed with all virtues, became worshipful for great men.

7. From him sprang illustrious Bhūshana⁴⁸ of fierce prowess, an ornament of the whole earth, who through the expansion of his exceedingly terrible lustre prevented mud (*i.e. his*) enemies from sticking (*to him*). Through the heat of the breath of the very stout serpent Śeṣha who lying under the earth was wounded by the weight of that (*Bhūshana's*) army when it strenuously marched forward, the abode of the snakes (*Pāṭāla*) was converted into a salt-marsh.

8. In the forest-lakes which were marked, as it were, with hundreds of dark spots sprung from the ichor that dropped from the temples of the rutting elephants of his army, even the wild elephants—how much less those of his enemies—no longer drank water.

9. His footstool was scratched by the crowns of a multitude of princes who came to serve him; he was the lord of the earth that is encircled by the four oceans as by an ornamental zone; the oceans were almost dried up by his camps (*as*) by those of the lord of the Raghus, resembling one of the primeval mountains he stood supporting the earth.⁴⁹

10. This capital of his, filled as it were with numerous excellent qualities that are lovely like the shape of the beams of the moon, glitters even at present, charming on account of its woods that are dark-green like emeralds, (*and*) seems to rival the town of the lord of the immortals with its gardens resembling Nandana, with its high-topped temples of the gods that are resplendent with the sprinkling of exceedingly pure whitewash.

11. His younger brother was the illustrious Malhana, who, in devotion, bowed to Bhava,—whose strong arm was stout like a club, who resplendent (*with fame*)⁵⁰ sportively took over the burden (*of the empire*) from his brother, proving himself equal to the multitude of hostile kings with his sword.⁵¹

12. Though he gained thereby great royal fortune, he showed the highest devotion to gods, Gurus and Brāhmans; he was born for the joy of his friends, intimates and kinsmen; he spread delight among his subjects by destroying the wicked.

⁴⁷ Or, "exalted through honours" (*conferred by his suzerain*)

⁴⁸ Bhūshana, left out in Mr Prinsep's translation, not the menstons Mānasehanda-pratāpa, which owes its origin to a wrong division of the syllables of two epithets and to a mislection, is the name of the second chief. Bhūshana is still a very common proper name, usually spelt and pronounced Bhūkhan. By the epithet *chandapratāpa*, Bhūshana is compared with the sun and this comparison suggests that of his enemies to the mud which the sun dries up and prevents from sticking.

⁴⁹ The translation of the third and fourth Pādas is not certain. In Pāda 3, I have taken *vikṣhepa* in the sense of 'camp' which it certainly has in the inscriptions of the Gujara king Dadda II. If that is correct, it must be assumed that the armies are represented as having required, on account of their magnitude, the whole contents of the oceans for drinking-water. Indian poets frequently speak of the soldiers of their heroes drinking from the ocean, apparently forgetting that the thing is impossible (see *e.g.* the great Andhra inscription of Pulamayi, *Arch. Reports of Western India*, vol IV, p 108, l. 8). Possibly, however, *vikṣhepa* may mean 'constructions' and the poet wished to say that Bhūshana built bridges or dams across the ocean, as Rāma did when invading Ceylon. In the fourth Pāda I have left untranslated the words *śasyāpi*, of which I cannot make anything. I am inclined to assume that they have been put in in order to make up the verse.

⁵⁰ *Dharaṭa*, 'resplendent (*with fame*)', may possibly be intended as a second name or *śiruda* of Malhana.

⁵¹ One would have expected **chakraḥ*. But the actual reading may be defended on the supposition that the compound is an *argayibhāva* modifying *dvabhdra*. It would seem that Malhana had to fight for the succession or possibly took the chiefship by force from his brother.

13. But his wife, sprung from the royal race of Chulukiśvara, lovely through the ornament of shining qualities, celebrated in the world as Anahilā⁴², was (as) the new moon to the lotus faces of the whole harem of her husband.

14. From her was born a hero, called the illustrious Lalla, who caused fear to great rulers of provinces, who adorned the beauteous faces of the (*nymphs guarding*) the regions by his virtues which equalled the brilliancy of jasmin, the moon and ivory, he was a shoot of the Chhinda race, whose high arm was struck by the oblique glance of the goddess of Fortune that he took from his enemies.

15. Wonderful (*it was*) that, forsooth, on the day of his birth a rain of flowers fell from the sky all around in the most joyful palace of the illustrious Malhana, announcing, as it were, (*his future*) prosperity by the auspicious humming of the bees.

16. Neither a lake with opened lotuses, nor the company of the virtuous, dear to those who give them their hearts, nor bending forest-creepers with full-blown flower-bunches, nor fields covered with crops, nor the high-flown speech of poets, nor the light of the autumnal moon, is so pleasing to the heart, as his good fortune that showers joy on the learned.

17. What is the use of the birth of other princes, in whose palaces I ween Fortune resides, like a hapless woman⁴³ guarded in vain and unenjoyed? No crest-jewel of princes ever existed, exists, or will exist who resembles the illustrious moon-like prince, Lalla, in liberality and in enjoyment.

18. His sword now equals in the world the fierce-rayed (*sun*), as first it possesses a ruddy hue derived from the minium on the frontal globes of the huge elephants of his foes meeting him in battle, and then, flaming with the brilliant lustre of his fame, it occupies all the regions with its majestic power that destroys his enemies who resemble darkness.

19. His fame wanders all around (*the world*), becoming a pearl in the ocean, appearing on the top of the snowy mountain as the heavenly Gangā, changing to the moon-light in the sky and in every quarter of the horizon to the frontal globes of the (*guardian*) elephants,⁴⁴ being visible on high, above the temples, as a white flag and on the sands of every river in the shape of royal swans.

20. Though the dread Kali age oppresses the world, there arose—when justice became incarnate in him—the idea that the original Kṛita age had begun in that town (*of his*) which is adorned with round and square wells and tanks, with temples of the gods and monasteries having gardens and alms-houses⁴⁵ attached, which shows a pleasing prosperity, and which is joyful with most virtuous men.

21. He presented to the Brāhmans, by grants, sacred villages which are inhabited by very wealthy people, on whose fields corn is plentiful, which are pleasant through neighbouring groves of excellent trees, and are situated on the banks of pure rivers.

22. The pleasant, holy river Katha was conducted by him, who showed it the way to his town, just as Gangā (*was brought down from heaven*) by Bhagiratha

⁴² This is the feminine of the word *Anahila*, which forms the first part of *Anahilapāṭak* a or *Anahilvād*. The masculine occurs also as *Anahila* in the Valabhi inscriptions, *Indian Antiquary*, vol VII, p 76

⁴³ I am afraid *durbhāgā* is put in order to make a most indecent pun. At all events the poet is guilty of *grāmyatva*

⁴⁴ The elephants guarding the quarters are white, just like the fame of Lalla.

⁴⁵ *Saṭra* means here *annasattra* or *saddvṛata*, see also below, verse 26

23. His wife became she, who is born from a pure ocean-like family (*and therefore*) resembles Lakshmi, the wife of Madhusûdana rising from the pure ocean, her ancestral home,—she who is a snow-shower to the lotus-thicket of the faces of all the (*other*) ladies of (*her husband's*) harem,⁵⁸ and who even according to her appellation is a second Lakshmi.

24. She, being endowed with virtues and affectionate, charmed the heart of her husband by her devotion and her modest humility; for their pleasing mutual affection is even as high grown as that of Hara and of the Daughter of the Mountain *Pârvatî*).

25. In parks, gardens, wells and temples of the gods her (*good*) works have been performed, are ever being performed.

26. Crowds of Brâhmans dine every day in the alms-houses maintained by her, who is compassionate towards the distressed, the helpless and the decayed.

27. Thus it was resolved by those two (*Lalla and his consort*) through whose increasing acquisition of merit the manners of the Kali age disappear; the one of them built this temple of the god who wears the moon on his head, and the other that of the Daughter of the Mountain.

28. Whose heart does not this pair of temples fill with wonder, the splendour of which equals that of two high tops of Kailâsa, which is on high white with stucco (*and*) by whose numerous flags, agitated by the wind, the cloud banks are shaken?

29. As long as the breast of the destroyer of Mura is decked with the Kaushtubha jewel, as long as the head of Śambhu is adorned with the crescent of the moon, as long as all the oceans exist, so long may this (*source of*) fame remain firm on earth.

30. Victorious be here on earth Lalla, the chief hero of the Ohhinda race, together with his most virtuous consort Lakshmi,—he who in every battle has written a eulogy (*of himself*) on the firmament even with his sword, the tip of which is covered by the muddy ichor of his enemies' elephants.

31. May holy Devi⁵⁹ who destroys misfortunes of various kinds, be ever present to (*grant*) welfare in the palace of the illustrious Lalla, the ruler of a province, who is united with his children, wife, dependants and friends.

32. The excellent land connected with the Mayûtâ of Bhû'shana⁶⁰ has been presented to the two deities, having been given the name Devapalli.

33. And for the purpose of the worship and of the repairs, illustrious Lalla of good fame has granted by a charter, after (*making*) a (*solemn*) donation, to Śiva and his consort one-fourth of his revenues.

34. There was a *Bhaṭṭa* of befitting conduct, called Śivarudra, born in the famous line of the sage Vatsa. By his son Nihila has been composed this new eulogy, the poetry of which is perspicuous.

35. This perspicuous and simple wreath of verses of his, which is the cause of exceedingly great joy, which possesses true poetical ornaments and is lovely through the

⁵⁸ i. e., who surpasses her rivals in beauty or, to use the oriental phrase, *blackens* their faces like a snow-shower the water lilies.

⁵⁹ Devi, i. e., Pârvatî.

⁶⁰ The Mayûtâ of Bhûshana has not been identified. Possibly it may be the town or suburb of the capital, mentioned above in verse 10

description of the pure virtues of illustrious Lallah, glitters in the hearts of the learned like a string of pearls.⁵⁹

36. And this (*eulogy*) has been written by the son of Vishnuhari, a Gauda clerk,⁶⁰ called Takshāditya, who knows crooked letters.

37. And it has been incised by Somanātha, the son of Kāmadeva, who came from Kanyakubja and is experienced in (*work performed with*) the chisel

One thousand years, 1049, Mārga, dark half 7, on a Thursday.

XIII.—A VALABHĪ GRANT OF DHRUVASENA III. DATED SAMVAT 334.

By E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D

Like the Rāshtrakūṭa grant published above,¹ the original of the subjoined grant was found at Kāpadvanaj in Gujarāt. The document is inscribed on the inner sides of two copper-plates with raised rims. Each plate measures 1' 3" by 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The right-hand ring has been lost. The left-hand ring, which bears the seal, is of irregular shape and about $\frac{1}{3}$ " thick. The oval seal measures 2" by 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " and bears—in relief, on a countersunk surface—a seated bull facing the left and below it the legend श्रीमटाक्षः. Both the plates and the seal are in a state of almost perfect preservation.

The grant is dated "from the victorious camp pitched at Sirī-Simminikā," which looks like a Prākṛit name. The inscription gives the usual genealogy down to Dhruvasena III. and records that the latter granted the village of Pattapadraka, which was situated in the Dakṣiṇa-paṭṭa of the Śivabhāgapura-vishaya,² to the Brāhmaṇa Bhattibhaṭa, the son of Bappa, a native, inhabitant and *chaturvedin* of Mahichhaka, who belonged to the Kauśika-gotra and studied the *Vājasaneyā-śākhā*. The name Mahichhaka, which occurs twice in the grant, seems to be a later correction in somewhat different characters. The *dātaka* was the *pramātri* Nāga,³ and the document was written by the chief secretary (*divrapati*) Anahila,⁴ the son of the chief secretary Skandabhata,⁵ who was "charged with peace and war" (*samdhvigrahādhikṛita*). The date of the grant⁶ was the 9th day of the bright half of Māgha of [Gup/a-]Samvat 334 or 653-54 A D.

⁵⁹ I am unable to render the pun in *hrīdaya*, which, if referred to the string of pearls, means 'on the heart' or 'on the breast,' if referred to the verses 'in the heart' or 'in the mind'

⁶⁰ *Karāṇika* 'clerk,' i. e. *Kāyastha*, is derived from *karāṇa*, which means both 'a written document' (see the *Petersburg Diet sub voce*) and 'a Government office' The latter meaning may be gathered from Hemachandra's commentary on his *Yogasūtra*, III, 127 यद्योचितं स्थानम् । यद्योचितमिति । यदा राजा यदा भवत्युदं यदानात्यसदा करणं यदा वणिगादिरापपमिति ।

¹ *Ante*, p. 52

² *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, p. 76

³ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, p. 79, where the reading of the facsimile is श्रीनाग, not श्रीना as the transcript has it

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, p. 76, and vol. XI, p. 306

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. I, pp. 17, 45f, and vol. VII, p. 73

⁶ According to Professor Bühler (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XV, p. 337, note 10, and vol. XVII, p. 197, note 50), an unpublished grant of Dhruvasena III is dated in Samvat 332. The reign of Dhruvasena III is limited by the latest date of his predecessor Dharmasena IV (330) and by the date of his successor Kharagraha II. (337)

TEXT.

PLATE I.

[1.] श्री स्वस्ति विजयस्कन्धावारात् सिरिसिन्धिकायासकात् प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणाम-
तुलवलसंपन्नमण्डलाभोगससक्तप्रहारशत -

[2.] लब्धप्रतापाव्यतापोपनतदानमानार्जवोपार्जितानुरागादनुरक्तमौलभृतश्रेणीबलावासरान्ध्रियः
परममाहेश्वरश्रीभटार्कादव्यवच्छि -

[3.] क्षराजवडशान्मातापितृचरणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रविधीताशेषकल्मषः शैशवाभ्रमृति खड्गद्वितीयबा-
हुरेव समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितस -

[4.] त्वनिकपः तत्प्रभावप्रणतारातिचूडारत्नप्रभासंसक्तपादनखरग्निसंहतिः⁷ सकलभृतिप्रणोत-
मार्गसमप्रकपरिपालनप्रजाहृदयरंजनान्व -

[5.] खंराजशब्दो रूपकान्तिस्त्रैर्यगांभीर्यं बुद्धिसंपद्भिः. अरशयाद्वादिराजोदधिभिदशगुरुधनेशान-
तिशयानः शरणागताभयप्रदानपरतया तृणव -

[6.] दपास्तशेषस्वकार्यफलः⁸ प्रार्थनाधिकार्यप्रदानानन्दितविहसुहृदप्रणयिहृदयः पादचारोव
सकलभुवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः परममाहेश्वरः श्री -

[7.] गुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसन्तानविस्तृताः श्रीजीवलीघप्रक्षालिताशेषकल्मषः प्रणयि-
शतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसंपद्रूपलोभादिवाञ्छि -

[8.] तः सरभसमाभिगामिकैर्गुणैस्सहजशक्तिश्रीक्षा⁹विशेषविस्मापिताखिलधनुर्धरः प्रथमनरपति-
समतिस्मृतानामनुपालयिता धर्मदायानामपा -

[9.] कर्त्ता प्रजोपघातकारिणामुपप्लवानां दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवासस्य संहतारातिपक्ष-
लक्ष्मीपरिभोगदत्तविक्रमो विक्रमोपसंप्राप्तविमलपा -

[10.] त्रिविधोः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुद्व्यातस्सकलजगदानन्दनात्सङ्गतगुह-
समुदयस्थगितसमपदिङ्मण्डलः समरशतविजयश्री -

[11.] भासनाथमण्डलाद्युतिभासुरतरांसपीठोदूढगुरुमनोरथमहाभारः सर्वविद्यापरापरविभागा-
धिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्वतः सुभाषितल -

[12.] वेनापि सुखीपपादनीयपरितोषः समग्रलोकागाधगांभीर्यहृदयोपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्त-
परमकल्याणस्वभावः खिलीभूतकृतशुगन्धपति -

[13.] पथविशोधनाधिगतोदयकीर्त्तिः धर्मानुपरोधोज्वलतरोक्ततार्थसुखसंपद्रुपसेवानिरुद्धधर्मादि-
त्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशीलादित्यः

[14.] तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुद्व्यातः स्वयमुपेन्द्रगुरुणैव गुरुणात्यादरवता समभिलषणीयामपि राज-
लक्ष्मीं स्कन्धासक्तां परमभद्र इव धुर्यस्तदाज्ञा -

[15.] संपादनैकरसतयैवोद्भूतं खेदसुखैरितिभ्यामनायासितसत्त्वसंपत्तिः प्रभावसंपद्भीकृतनृपति-
शतशिरोरत्नच्छाद्योपगूढपादपीठोपि

[16.] परावन्नाभमान¹⁰रसानालिङ्गितमनोवृत्तिः प्रणतिमेकां परित्यज्य प्रख्यातपीडयाभिमानैरप्य-
रातिभिरनासादितप्रतिक्रियोपायः कृत -

[17.] निखिलभुवनमोदविमलगुणसंहतिप्रसभविषटितसकलकलिविलसितगतिर्नीचजनाधिरोहि-
मिरशेषैर्होपैरन[¹¹]मृष्टात्युत्तहृदयः प्र -

⁷ Read 'संहति'.

⁸ Read 'विष्ठा'.

⁹ Read 'सुख'.

¹⁰ Read 'शामिमान'.

[18] ख्यातपौरुषास्त्रकौशलातिशयगणतिथविपक्षचित्तिपतिलक्ष्मीस्वयंग्राहप्रकाशितप्रवीरपुरुषप्रथमसंस्थाधिगमः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीश्वर -

[19] हस्तस्य तनयः तत्पादानुद्धातः सकलविद्याधिगमविहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमनःपरितोषातिशयः सत्वसपदा¹¹ त्यागौदार्येण च विगतानुस -

[20] भानाशमाहितारातिपक्षमनोरथाक्षभङ्गः सम्यगुपलक्षितानेकशास्त्रकालालोरचरित¹²गङ्गारविभागीपि परमभद्रप्रकृतिर -

[21.] [कृ]त्रिमप्रत्ययविनयशोभाविभूषणः समरशतजयपताकाहरणप्रत्यलोदग्रबाहुदंडविध्वंसितनिखिलप्रतिपक्षदर्पोदयः

[22] स्वधनुःप्रभावपरिभूतास्त्रकौशलाभिमानसकलनृपतिमण्डलाभिनन्दितशासनः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनः तस्यानुजः तत्प[18]दा -

[23.] नुद्धातः सञ्चरितातिशयितसकलपूर्व्वनरपतिरतिदुस्साधानामपि प्रसाधयिता विषयाणां¹³ मूर्त्तिमानिव पुरुषकारः परिवृद्धगु -

[24.] णानुरागनिर्वर्म्मरचित्तवृत्तिभिर्मनुरिव स्वयमभ्युपपन्नः प्रकृतिभिरधिगतकलाकलापः कान्तिमान् निर्वृत्तिहेतुरकलङ्कः कुमुदनाथ.

[25] प्राज्यप्रतापस्थगितदिगन्तरालप्रध्वन्सितध्वान्तराशिस्रततोदितः सविता प्रकृतिभ्यः परं प्रत्ययमर्त्यवतमतिवहुतिथ -

[26] प्रयोजनानुबंधभागमपरिपूर्णवदधानः¹⁴ सन्धिविग्रहसमासनिश्चयनिपुणः स्थानेनुरूपमादेशं ददद्गुण -

PLATE II.

[27] हृदिविधानजनित[संस्कार]रः [सा]धूनां राज्यसालातुरीय¹⁵तन्त्रयोरुभयोरपि निष्णातः प्रकृष्टविक्रमोपि करुणामृदुहृदयः श्रुतवा -

[28] नप्यगर्व्वितः कान्तोपि प्रथम¹⁶ स्थिरसीहृदयोपि निरसिता दोषवतामुदयसमयससुपजनितजननानुरागपरिपिहित -

[29] भुवनसमर्त्यितप्रथितवालादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीभुवसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादकमलप्रणामधरणिक -

[30] पणजनितकिणलाञ्छनललाटचन्द्रशकलः शिशुभाव एव श्रवणनिहितमौक्तिकालङ्कारविभ्रमामलश्रुतविशेषः प्रदानसलिलसा -

[31] लिताग्रहस्तारविन्दः कन्याया इव मृदुकरग्रहणादमन्दीकृतानन्दविधिर्व्वसुन्धरायाः कार्मुके धनुर्व्वेद इव संभाविताशेषलक्ष्य -

[32] कलापः प्रणतसामन्तमण्डलोत्तमाङ्गधृतचूडारत्न[17]यमानशासनः परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरच -

[33] क्रवर्त्तिश्रीधरसेनस्तत्पितामहभ्रातृश्रीशीलादित्यस्य शार्ङ्गपाणेरिवाङ्गजन्मनो भक्तिवन्धुरावयवकल्पितप्रणतेरतिधवलया दूरं तत्पा -

[34] दारविन्दप्रवृत्तया नष्टमणिरुचा मन्दाकिन्देव नित्यममलितोत्तमाङ्गदेशस्यागस्त्यस्यैव राजर्षीचिन्त्यमातन्वानस्य प्रवलधवलिल्ला य -

¹¹ Read सत्वसपदा

¹² Read श्रीकचरित.

¹³ Read विषयाणां

¹⁴ Read पूर्ण विद्वानः

¹⁵ Read शासालातुरीय.

¹⁶ Read प्रथम

[35.] शसा¹⁷ वलयेन मण्डितककुभा नभसि यामिनीपतेर्विडम्बिताखण्डपरिवेपमण्डलस्य पयोद-
श्यामशिखरचूचुकचिरसङ्घविन्ध्यस्तनयु -

[36.] गायाः क्षितेऽपत्युः श्रीडेरभटस्याङ्गजः क्षितिपसंहतेरनुरागिण्याः शुचियशोङ्गकभृतः
स्वयंवरमालामिव राज्यत्रियमर्पियन्त्या × क¹⁸ -

[37.] तपरिग्रहः शौर्यमप्रतिहतव्यापारमानमितप्रचण्डरिपुमण्डलमण्डलाग्रमिवावलम्बमानः शरदि
प्रसभमाकृष्टशिल¹⁹ -

[38.] सुखबाणासनापादितप्रसाधनानां परभुवां विधिवदाचरितकरग्रहणः पूर्वमेव विविधव-
र्णोन्वलेन श्रुतातिशयेनोद्भासितय -

[39.] वणः पुणः²⁰ पुनरुक्तेनेव रत्नालङ्कारेणालङ्कृतयोत्रः परिस्फुरत्कटकविकटकीटपक्षरत्नकिरण-
मविच्छिन्नप्रदानसलिलनि -

[40.] वहावसेकविलसन्नवशैवलाङ्कुरमिवाग्रपाणिमुदङ्गन् धृतविगालरत्नवल्लयजलधिवेलातटायमा-
नभुजपरिवृक्तविश्व -

[41.] अरः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधुवसेन × कुशली सर्वानिव समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वक्षंविदितं यया
मया मातापित्रोऽपुण्याप्यायनाय

[42.] महिष्[क]विनिर्गतमहिष्कवास्तव्यैतश्चातुर्विद्यसामान्यकौशिकसगोत्रवाजसनेयसम्रग्नचारि-
व्र[र*]क्षणवपुत्रभट्टिभटाय

[43.] शिवभागपुरविषये दक्षिणपटे पट्टपट्टकग्रामः सोद्वङ्गः सोपरिकरः सभूतवातप्रत्यायः सधान्य-
हिरण्यादेयस्रद -

[44.] शापराधस्योत्पद्यमानविष्टिकस्वर्वाजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः पूर्वप्रतदेवब्रह्मदेयरहितः
भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेना -

[45.] चन्द्रार्क्षोर्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्वतसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्य उदकातिसर्गेण धर्मादायो
निष्ठः यतोस्योचितया ब्रह्म -

[46.] देयाग्र(र)हारस्थित्या भुंजतः कृपतः कर्पयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैचिद्ग्रासेधे वर्त्तितव्यमागा-
मिभद्रनृपतिभिरप्यस्मदङ्ग -

[47.] जैरन्यैर्वा स्वनित्यान्यैश्चर्याण्यस्थिरं मानुष्यं सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवगच्छन्निरयमस्महा-
योनुमन्तव्य × परिपालयितव्यश्चेत्यक्त²¹ -

[48.] च ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1*] । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
फलम् [11*] यानीह दारिद्र्यभयान्नरेन्दैर्वनानि धर्मायतनीक -

[49.] तानि [1*] निर्वर्तमानाप्रतिमानि [तानि*] को नाम साधु × पुनराददीत [11*] षष्टिं
वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [11*] दूतकोच
प्रसातृश्रीनागः

[50.] लिखितमिदं सन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतदिविरपतिश्रीस्कन्दभटपुत्रदिविरपतिश्रीमदनहिलेनेति ॥
सं ३०० ३० ४ माघ शु ८ स्वहस्ती मम ॥

¹⁷ Read यशसा

¹⁸ Read •त्रियमर्पयन्त्याः क०.

¹⁹ Read •शिली०.

²⁰ Read पुनः

²¹ Read •दीपुक्त०

TRANSLATION.

(L. 1) Om. Hail! From the victorious camp pitched at Sirī-Simminikā From the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the illustrious Bhatārka, who had obtained majesty by hundreds of battles²² fought in the vast territories, which were held by the matchless army of the Maitrakas, who had prostrated their enemies by force²³, who had gained the devotion of those whom he prostrated by his majesty, by his impartiality (*in conferring*) presents and honours, who had acquired the splendour of royalty by his devoted army (*which consisted*) of hereditary servants, hired soldiers and men employed in posts²⁴; and whose royal lineage was uninterrupted,—(*there descended*) the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the illustrious Guhasena, all whose sins were washed away by his prostrations at the lotus-feet of his father and mother, who, ever sword in hand from his infancy, brightened the touchstone of his courage by splitting the temples of the rutting elephants of his foes, the rays of whose toe-nails mingled with the splendour of the crest-jewels of the enemies whom he had prostrated by the power of that (*courage*); who (*made*) the word "king" (*rājan*) true to its meaning by delighting (*rañjana*) the hearts of his subjects through careful observance of the conduct prescribed in all *smṛitiś*, who surpassed Cupid in beauty, the moon in splendour, the king of mountains in firmness, the ocean in profundity, the preceptor of the gods in wisdom, and the lord of treasures in wealth; who, in his readiness to grant safety to refugees, scattered as trifles all (*the riches*) gained by his (*warlike*) deeds, who made the loving hearts of his learned friends rejoice by granting them more riches than they desired; and who appeared to be an incarnation of the delight of the vast circle of the whole world²⁵

(L. 7.) His son was the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the illustrious Dhara-sena, all whose sins were washed away by the flood of the waters of the Gangā, which flowed from the cluster of rays, (*that issued from*) the toe-nails of (*his father*); whose wealth was lived upon by hundreds of thousands of loving (*servants*), whom attractive virtues²⁶ approached impetuously, as if it were out of a desire for his beauty, who astonished all archers by his natural ability and excellent training, who preserved the meritorious gifts made by former princes, who drove away the plagues which oppressed his subjects; who demonstrated (*the possibility of*) the co-existence in one person of prosperity and wisdom; whose valour knew how to enjoy the prosperity of the party of his united enemies; and who obtained pure royal splendour by his valour.

(L. 10) His son was the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the illustrious Śīlāditya, who meditated at the feet of (*his father*), who covered the whole horizon with the multitude of his wonderful virtues, which made the whole world rejoice, who carried a heavy burden of serious projects on the pedestal of his shoulders, the splendour of

²² The earlier Valabhi grants read सङ्घट्ट 'battle' for णट्ट 'blow'

²³ The last translator of the above passage has been Professor Kielhorn (*Ind Ant.*, vol. XIV, p. 329) Regarding his translation I venture to observe, that it seems easier to connect the genitive शिवदाप्य with वच, than with the more distant नक्षत्रादीनां

²⁴ On these technical meanings of *maula*, *bhṛta* and *śreni*, see the Hon V. N. Mandlik's note, *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XI, p. 346

²⁵ The last sentence might also mean "who (*gives*) delight to, as the traveller (*talae*) delight in, the vast circle of the whole world"

²⁶ On the *śīlagāmiṇī gundā* see *Jour. Bombay Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. XI, p. 343.

which was increased by the flashing of his sword, that possessed the lustre of victory in hundreds of battles; who was easily pleased by everybody even through a trifling *bon mot*, although his mind was refined by the study of the higher and lower branches of all sciences, whose noble nature was well shown by his extremely virtuous conduct, although the profundity of his heart was unfathomable by the whole world; who acquired great fame by purifying the deserted path of the princes of the *Kṛta-yuga*; and whose second name Dharmāditya arose from (*the fact that*) his enjoyment of an abundance of wealth and pleasure was made still more resplendent by his never obstructing the law (*dharma*).

(L. 14) His younger brother was the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the illustrious Kharagraha, who meditated at the feet of (*his elder brother*); whose excellent character was not troubled by fatigue or love of pleasure, while, like a noble bullock, he bore the royal dignity,—which his elder brother, who resembled (*Indra*) the elder brother of Upendra (*Vishnu*) himself, had most respectfully placed on his shoulders, though it (*viz., the royal dignity*) was a desirable object,—merely because his only pleasure was to fulfil his (*viz., his elder brother's*) commands; whose mind was untouched by the feeling of contempt of others or of pride, though his foot-stool was covered with the splendour of the crest-jewels of hundreds of princes, whom he had subdued by his great power; towards whom even those enemies, whose manliness and pride were notorious, found no other means of action than submission alone; who forcibly stopped all the coquettish ways of the Kali (*yuga*) by the collection of his pure virtues, which gave delight to the whole world; whose noble heart was untouched by all the sins which overcome low people; and who proclaimed his obtaining the first rank among heroes by wooing to himself the prosperity of a crowd of hostile princes by his famous manliness and extreme skill in weapons.

(L. 19.) His son was the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the illustrious Dharasena, who meditated at the feet of (*his father*); who gave immense delight to the minds of all learned men by his mastery of all sciences; who, by great courage and noble liberality, broke the axles of the desires (literally, *the vehicles of the minds*) of the party of his foes in such a way that there was no hope of repair; who was very kind-hearted, though he had thoroughly studied the most secret branches of many sciences, arts and chronicles of the world; whose ornament was the splendour of unfeigned modesty and courtesy; who destroyed the rising pride of all his adversaries by the long staff of his arm, which was able²⁷ to carry off the banner of victory in hundreds of battles, and whose commands were received with joy by the whole circle of princes, whose pride of skill in weapons had been conquered by the strength of his bow.

(L. 22.) His younger brother was the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the illustrious Dhruvasena, who meditated at the feet of (*his elder brother*), who surpassed all former princes by his good deeds, who, like an incarnation of manliness, conquered even such countries as were difficult to be conquered; who, like *Manu* himself, was resorted to by subjects, whose minds were full of affection on account of his high virtues, who, (*like*) the moon, possessed all arts (*or digits*), was full of splendour and caused delight, (*but*) who was free from sins (*or spots*), who, (*like*) the sun, destroyed the

²⁷ The author seems to have formed *pratyala* from the root *al*, which the compilers of the *Dhātupāṭha* had invented in order to explain the derivation of *alam*

dense darkness in (*all*) quarters, which were covered by his great splendour, (*but*) who was rising continually, who was versed in both the sciences of government and of Śālisturlīya (*i.e.*, of Pāṇini), as he inspired in his subjects perfect trust, which was useful, connected with various purposes and full of profit, as he knew how to decide about peace, war and encampment, as he gave the correct order in the proper place, and as he caused good people to thrive by making virtue prosper²¹, who, though very brave, had a merciful heart; who, though learned, was free from pride, who, though handsome, was full of calmness; who, though constant in friendship, cast out the sinful, and whose famous second name Bālāditya (*i.e.*, *the morning-sun*) was made true to its meaning (*by the fact that*) the world was pervaded by the affection (*or redness*) of men, which was produced at his rise.

(L 29) His son was the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the supreme lord, the lord of great kings, the supreme ruler, the emperor, the illustrious Dharasena, who (*like Śiva*) bore the crescent of the moon on his forehead, as the latter was marked with a scar that was produced through his rubbing the earth, while prostrating himself at the lotus-feet of (*his father*), who, even in his infancy, was distinguished by sacred knowledge, which was as pure as the glittering pearl-ornaments that were fixed in his ears, the tips of whose lotus-hands were moistened with the water (*sprinkled*) at donations (*as the tip of the trunk of an elephant with the rutting-juice*), who gave great delight to the earth, as to a maiden, by imposing light taxes (*or by taking her soft hand*), who, with his bow, seemed to be (*an incarnation of*) the science of archery, as he hit all sorts of aims; and whose commands resembled the crest-jewels which were borne on the heads by the crowd of his howling vassals

(L 33) The son of his grandfather's brother, the illustrious Śilāditya, was the illustrious Derabhatā, whose head was continually purified by the extremely bright splendour which widely issued from the jewel-like nails of the lotus-feet of (*his father*), when he performed prostrations with his body, which was bent in reverence, just as the head of Vishnu's son (*is purified*) by the Gangā (*which issues from the toe of his father*); who possessed the courtesy (*or the southern region*) of the royal sage Agastya himself; who imitated the unbroken circle of the halo of the lord of the night (*i.e.*, *the moon*) in the sky by the extremely bright girdle of his fame, which adorned the nymphs of the quarters; and who was the lord of the earth, whose breasts, (*viz*) the Sahya and the Vindhya (*mountains*), are adorned with (*black*) nipples, (*viz*) with peaks, which are darkened by clouds.

(L 36) His son is the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the illustrious Dhruvasena, who has wooed the loving assembly of princes, which wore bright fame as a white garment, and which handed to him the splendour of royalty as the garland at a "self-choice" (*stayambara*), who, in autumn, depending on his valour, which was as irresistible as his sword, that had subdued the territories of fierce enemies, has lawfully taken the hand of (*or levied taxes from*) foreign countries, which were conquered by the

²¹ The second meaning of this passage is as follows — "As he made an affix following roots or crude forms (Pāṇini, III, 1, 2), significant (Pāṇini, I, 2, 45), (*joined with*) indicatory letters for various purposes and completed by an augment, as he knew the truth about euphonic rules, analysis and composition, as he put the correct substitute in the place (*of another*), and as he caused the formation of correct (*words*) by the performance of *guna* and *vidhi*."

²² ड्रुव (not ड्रुव) seems to be the correct form of the name, — see the facsimiles, *Ind Ant*, vol. V, page 211; vol. VII, p. 78

bow (*of Cupid or of the king*), on which the arrow had been forcibly pulled back; whose ears are again ornamented with jewels, which seem superfluous, as his ears have been already adorned with extensive sacred knowledge of various kinds (*or colours*); the tip of whose hand (*is resplendent*) with the rays of the jewels, which cover his gleaming bracelet, and resembles a fresh sprout of (*the aquatic plant*) *śaivala*, as it glitters with the masses of water, which he is continually sprinkling at donations;²⁰ and who has embraced the earth with his arm, which resembles the coast of the ocean, that wears an armlet of large pearls.

(L 41.) (*He*), being in good health, issues (*the following*) command to all: "Be it known to you, that, for the increase of the spiritual merit of my mother and father, I gave with a libation of water to the Brāhmana Bhaṭṭibhaṭa," the son of Bappa, who comes from Mahichhaka, dwells at Mahichhaka and belongs to the *chaturvedina* of this (*place*), to the *gotra* of the Kauśikas and to the school of the Vājasaneyas, the village of Paṭṭapadraka, in the southern division (*daśahinapassa*) of the district (*viśhaya*) of Śivabhāgapura, as a meritorious gift, with the *udranga*, *uparikara* and *bhātavātapratyāya*, with the income in grain and in gold, with (*the right of fining those who commit*) the ten offences, with (*the right to*) eventual forced labour, not to be meddled with by any royal officers, excluding grants previously made to temples and to Brāhmanas, according to the mode of *bhāmichchhidra*, to last as long a time as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, the rivers, and the mountains, and to be enjoyed by his sons, grandsons and (*further*) descendants. Wherefore, nobody shall cause obstruction to him if he enjoys (*this village*), cultivates it, causes it to be cultivated or assigns it (*to others*) according to the usual rule relating to *agrahāras*, which are given to Brāhmanas. And future gracious kings of our lineage or others shall assent to this our gift and shall preserve it, recognizing that the royal dignity is very transient, that human life is unstable, and that the reward of a gift of land is common (*to all kings*)."

(L 47.) And it has been said: [*Here follow three of the customary imprecatory verses*].

(L 49.) The messenger for this (*grant was*) the *pramātri* Śrī-Nāga. This was written by the Chief Secretary Śrīmad-Anahila, the son of the Chief Secretary Śrī-Skandabhaṭa, who was charged with peace and war. Sam[vat] 834, on the 9th of the bright half of Māgha. (*This is*) my own handwriting.

²⁰ The second meaning of this passage is as follows " (*who resembles an elephant*) the tip of whose trunk (*is resplendent*) with the rays of the wings of the insects, which cover his gleaming tusk ring, (*and bears*) fresh sprouts of *śaivala* (*plants*) which glitter, as they are continually sprinkled with masses of rattling juice "

²¹ In a notice published in the *Vienna Oriental Journal* (vol I, p 138), I suggested that the Bhaṭṭibhaṭa of the present inscription might be identical with the author of the *Bhaṭṭiśāstra*, which was composed, "while king Śrī Dharmasena ruled at Valabhi." This identification, however, is at the least very doubtful, as in the inscription Bhaṭṭi's father is called Bappa, while Jayamāgala's *śikā* calls him Śrīśāman.

XIV.—INSCRIPTION IN THE DEHLI MUSEUM.

BY PROF. J. EGGELING, Ph.D., EDINBURGH.

The inscription, of which the following transcript and translation has been prepared, is now in the Dehli Museum, and is said to have been found in a well at Sarban, about five miles to the south of Dehli,—the Sāravala or Sārabala of the inscription. It is on a rectangular black slab measuring 17 inches by 11, of which the inscription covers 15½ by 10½ inches. It consists of 16 verses written in 18 lines—the last containing only 6 aksharas of the date, and is in almost perfect preservation; the letters well formed. It belongs to the time of the Sultān Muhammad bin Tughlaq (A.H. 725—752) and is dated V. Samvat 1384, Phālgun Su. di. 5th, Tuesday, which, if intended for the current year, would fall in February 1328 A.D., and records the construction of a well at the village of Sāravala by two brothers—Khetala and Paitala. The date is first given as reckoned by the Vedas (4), Vasus (8), Agni (3), Ohandra (1), and then in figures—1384.

८. १ स्वस्ति ॥ सर्वाभीष्टफलं यस्य पदाराधनतत्पराः ।

लभन्ते मनुजास्तस्यै गणाधिपतये नमः ॥ १

१ सत्यलो नाम वः पातु सांववत्यांवया सह ।

प्रसादायस्य देवस्य भक्ताः स्युः सौख्यभाजनं ॥ २

देशोक्तिः १ हरियानाथ्यः पृथिव्यां स्वर्गसंनिभः ।

दिल्लिकास्या पुरी तत्र तोमरैरस्ति निर्मिता ॥ ३

तोमरानंतरं यस्यां राज्यं निहतकंटकं ।

चाहमाना नृपाश्चक्रुः प्रजापालनतत्पराः ॥ ४

जय प्रतापदहनदग्धारिकुलकाननः ।

मुग्धः सहावदीनस्तां बलेन जगृहे पुरीं ॥ ५

ततःप्रभृति भुक्ता सा तुरङ्गैर्यावदस्य पूः ।

श्रीमहंमदशाहिस्तां पाति संप्रति भूपतिः ॥ ६ अपि च ॥

तस्यां पुर्यस्ति वणिजामघोतकनिवासिनां ।

वंशः श्रीसाचदेवाथ्यः साधुस्तत्रोदपद्यत ॥ ७

लक्ष्मीधरस्तत्तनयो १ वभूव लक्ष्मीधराद्भिदयपद्मभृगः ।

देवद्विजाराधननिष्ठचित्तः समस्तभूतावनलव्यकीर्तिः ॥ ८

१ लक्ष्मीधरस्तत्तनयो कलिकालवाद्यावास्तासुभौ महिमवारिनिधी सुरूपौ ।

माहाभिधौ निपुणवुद्धिरभूतदायो धीकाथ्य उत्तमयथा अनुजस्तु तस्य ॥ ९

माहाथ्यस्याभवत्पुत्रो मेल्हानामा मनोहरः ।

देवद्विजगुरुणां यः सदाराधनतत्पराः ॥ १०

श्रीधरस्नात्मजां वीरोनाम्नीं (१ वीरोनाम्नीं) भर्तृपरायणां ।

घीका विवाहयामास तस्यामास्तासुभौ सुतौ ॥ ११
 ज्यैष्ठस्तयोः खेतलनामधेय साधुत्वपाथीधिरनंतशीलः ।
 पैतृकनामा च लघुः समस्तगुरुद्विजाराधनशीलचित्तः ॥ १२
 १४ ज्यैष्ठस्तयोः खेतलपैतलाख्यसाध्वोः सदा कीर्त्तनकर्मबुद्धयोः ।
 इयं शुभा सारवलाभिधानग्रामांतभूरध्यवसत्स्य चित्ते ॥ १३
 १५ पितृणामक्षयस्वर्गप्राप्त्यै सतानवृद्धये ।
 पैतलः पैतलश्चैनं कारयामासतुः प्रदिं ॥ १४
 वेदवस्त्रग्निचद्रांकसंख्येदेविक्रमार्कतः ।
 पंचमरां फाल्गुनसिते लिखितं भौमवासरे ॥ १५
 १६ इन्द्रप्रस्थप्रतिगणे ग्रामे सारवलेत्र तु ।
 चिरं तिष्ठतु कूपीयं कारकथ सवांधवः ॥ १६
 संवत् १३८४ फाल्गुनशुदि ५ भौमदिने ॥

TRANSLATION.¹

V. 1. Hail! Worship be unto that Lord of Ganas through constant devotion for whose feet men obtain the fruit of all their desires.

2. May he, who is called Satyala,² together with Ambā and Ambavatī, protect you, that god by whose grace the faithful shall be a vessel of bliss!

3. There is a country, called Hariyāna, a very heaven on earth: there lies the city called Dhillikā, built by the Tomaras,—

4. Wherein, subsequent to the Tomaras, the Chāhamāna kings, intent on protecting their subjects, established a kingdom, in which all enemies of public order were struck down.

5. Thereupon the Barbarian Sahābadīn,³ having burnt down the forest of hostile tribes by the fire of his valour, seized that city by force.

6. Thenceforward that city has been in the possession of the Turashkas to this day: at present Prince Śrī Mahammad Śāhī⁴ rules over it.

7. Now, in that city there is a family of merchants dwelling in Agrotaka.⁵ in this family was born the Sādhu Śrī Sāchadeva⁶ by name.

8. His son was Lakshmīdhara, the bee of the lotus-pair of (Vishnu) Lakshmīdhara's feet, whose mind was ever bent on the propitiation of the gods and Brāhmins, and who obtained fame by his kindness to all beings.

¹ A Devanāgarī transcript, prepared (for Mr J. G. Delmerick) by Pandit Bisasharnāth of Dehli, with an English translation by Bābū Rājendralāla Mitra, appeared in the *Proceedings* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for May 1873, p 103 seqq. In the following notes the various readings of the Pandit's transcript have been referred to after renewed careful examination of the impressions taken from the stone.

² This epithet (P 'the truthful one'), apparently intended here as a name for Śiva, has not been found in any Sanskrit work.

³ Rightly identified by Rājendralāla Mitra with Sulṭān Shahāb ud dīn Muḥammad Ghori, A D 1156-1205.

⁴ Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, reigned A D 1325-1351.

⁵ Rāj Mitra takes this to be 'the original, or Sanskrit form, of Agrā, the merchants or banīvās of which place are well known all over India as the Agarwālā Baniyās.' Perhaps it may be the name (derived from Agrā) of the quarter of the town of Dhillī where these merchants resided.

⁶ Thus the inscription reads, instead of Sāchadeva, as transcribed by the Pandit.

9. Lakshmidhara had two sons, who were strangers to the Kaliyug (*time of strife and sin*); both of them oceans of greatness, and of goodly form. The first of them was Māha (or MĀhā) by name, of subtle mind; and his younger brother named Ghikā, of highest renown.

10. Māha had a charming son, named Melhā, who was ever bent on propitiating the gods, Brāhmans and Gurus

11. Ghikā married Śrīdhara's daughter, Virā (?) by name, devoted to her husband: by whom he had two sons;—

12. The elder⁷ of them, Khetala by name, an ocean of goodness, and of boundless piety, and the younger, named Paitūka, whose mind was devoted to the propitiation of all Gurus and Brāhmans.

13. Now in the thought of those two sādhus, named Khetala and Paitala,⁸ whose minds were occupied with deeds of renown, this fair piece of ground at the extremity of the village called Sāravala, was dwelling.

14. Shetala and Paitala, with the view of their deceased ancestors attaining to imperishable Svarga,⁹ and for the continuation of their race, caused this¹⁰ well to be made.

15. Written in the year countable by Veda (4), Vasu (8), Fire (3) and Moon (1), from the time of Vikramārka, on Tuesday, the 5th of the bright half of Phālguna.

16. In this village of Sāravala, in the pratigana¹¹ of Indraprastha, may this well, and its author with his family, exist for a long time.

Samvat 1384, bright Phālguna 5, Tuesday.

XV.—A NEW INSCRIPTION OF THE ANDHRA KING YAJÑASRĪ GAUTAMIPUTRA,

By G. BÜHLER, Ph.D, LL.D., C.I.E

The subjoined inscription is incised on a stone, which was originally found on the sea-shore south of the Krishnā river close to the village of China in the Kistnā district, and is now deposited in the Madras Museum. I edit it according to two rubbings, made over to me by Dr Burgess. It contains six unequal lines, all of which are mutilated, the lower ones more than the upper ones. The characters are of the ordinary Audhra type, but rather ornamental.

⁷ लोहः in the inscription, is of course a mistake for लोहः.

⁸ Here, and in sloka 14, the Pandit (if his transcript has been faithfully reproduced) has read the name Paituka, which Rājendralāla Mitra naturally takes to be a mere *varia lectio metri causa* for Paitūka (as the name is clearly spelt in verse 12). The inscription, however, undoubtedly has Paitala in verses 13 and 14.

⁹ The inscription reads clearly चक्षुःसुगमस्यै. What the Pandit took to be an *anusvara* (अनुस्वारः) is in reality the lower end of the १ of सार्वा in the preceding line.

¹⁰ Instead of चक्षुः चक्षुःसुगमस्यै the Pandit reads चक्षुः चक्षुःसुगमस्यै. The *anusvara* is indeed very indistinct, and is perhaps even wanting, the letter itself, however, is undoubtedly च, and not द. It scarcely needs to be remarked that the letter च and द are frequently interchanged; hence चक्षुः in verse 13, and चक्षुः in 14.

¹¹ Rājendralāla Mitra suggests that "*pratigana* is perhaps a mislection of *pratigata*, in front of," though he also remarks that "it evidently stands here for a province or a district." It is probably meant to be the Sanskrit equivalent of pargana, for which one would rather expect प्रगणे or परिगणे.

The purpose of the document is not quite certain. If the syllables *dhāya* at the beginning of l. 6 are the remnant of *Budhāya*, it may have been the record of some Buddhistic donation or dedication. The chief points of interest which it offers are the date and the expression *vasasatāya* preceding the latter. As regards the date, it is the twenty-seventh year of king Gotamiputa Siriyaña Sātakani, i.e., Gautami-putra Yajñaśrī Sātakani, who, as the *Vāyu* and *Matsya Purānas* assert, ruled twenty-nine years.¹ The close agreement of the figures is very remarkable, and it would seem that the Paurāṇic statement is really true.² As we have here quite distinctly *vasasatāya*, it becomes advisable to give up the attempt at reading the corresponding expression in Dr. Burgess' Banavāsī inscription *visasatāya*³ and the explanation proposed there. At the same time it seems even less possible than formerly to accept Dr. Bhagvānlal Indrājī's interpretation, who takes it to be equivalent to *varṣaśatyām*, "in the century of years." I still believe that it has the same import as the phrases *pravardhamānavijāyārdjya*⁴ and the like, which occur so often in Sanskrit inscriptions before regnal dates,⁵ and I am inclined to fall back on the translation *vasasattāyāh*, which I proposed—*loc. cit* note 5.

TRANSCRIPT.

1. सिधं न[मो भ]गवतो⁶ — — — [वस] रजो गीतमि -
2. पुतस अरकसिरियजसातकणिस वससताय संवद्धर सत[वि] -
3. मं २० + ७ हेमतानं पखं चतुथं ४ दि⁷ — — — — मं ५ एतिय
4. पुवाय अरकमहतरकेन महा⁸ — — — — —
5. याजिना महादं — — — — —
6. धाय — — — — —

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to divine 'v a ! The year twenty-seven (20+7) of the existence of the power of the king, the lord⁹ Siriyaña Sātakani, the son of the (*Queen of the*) Gautama (*race*), the fourth (4) fortnight of summer, the fifth (5) day—on the above (*date*) by the lord, the Mahataraka⁹ Mahā.e....., a sacrificer,to (Bud)-dha (?).

¹ Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 26

² The next latest regnal year of this king in the sixteenth, see *Arch. Rep. Western India*, vol. IV, p. 79

³ *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, p. 331.

⁴ *Loc. cit*, note 1

⁵ L. 1. After सगवतो five, possibly six, letters have been obliterated. The last two seem to have been वस

⁶ L. 3. The lacuna after दि has to be filled up by दि[वसं चतु]म

⁷ L. 4. The slanting stroke above ह in महतरकेन seems to be accidental. The next word may be मही

⁸ I take अरक to be an equivalent of Sanskrit अर्यक which has the same meaning as सामिन् found in the same position in other Andhra inscriptions

⁹ महतरक is probably a title and the same as the Sanskrit महतर

XVI—THE TWO PRASASTIS OF BAIJNATH,

BY G. BUHLER, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

[Kiragrāma or Baijnāth is a small town in the east of the Kāngra district about thirty miles east of Kot Kāngra, in latitude $32^{\circ} 3' N.$ and longitude $76^{\circ} 41' E.$, at a bend of the Binuān river—a feeder of the Biyās and on its east or left bank. The number of old temples about the village point to its having been in early times a place of some note. Under the Katoch chiefs or Rājanakas who were tributary to Jālandhara or Trigarta, it may have been the residence of one of them. But most of its temples are now in ruins. The two of most architectural interest and best preservation are those of Siddheśvara and Vaidyanātha. The former, at the west end of the town, is now deserted, but consists of a four-pillared mandapa and a shrine, measuring over all about 33 feet by 20, and the *śikhara* is 35 feet high¹. It faces the east and has two doors in the back wall of the hall on each side of the shrine, to admit of its *parakrama* or circumambulation. A perforated stone window on each side of the hall helped to light it, and in a niche in the south wall has been an inscription on a slab 17" by 14", but scarcely a letter is now traceable. In a niche on the outside of the back or west wall is a figure of Śūrya.

The temple of Vaidyanātha is on the north side of the village, close to the river, and stands in an irregular walled enclosure, about 120 feet from east to west, and from 60 feet wide inside at the east end to 75 at the west, with rooms for the *pūjāris*, &c., on the north and west sides, and several small temples in the court along the north side. The principal temple measures 51 feet by 31 over the base. The mandapa is 20 feet square inside,² its roof supported by four round pillars standing on two raised benches on each side the central area. Behind this is a small ante-chamber with two pillars in *antis*; and beyond it is the shrine, 8 feet square inside, containing a small *lingam* and a number of loose images. To the entrance, on the west, is added a porch, with four columns in front, and measuring inside about 8' 4" in width by 6' 6" deep. The pillars are of early date, but in its present form this addition is probably due to Sansāra Chandra II of Kāngra (1776-1809), who thoroughly repaired and restored the temple in 1786. With the exception of the balcony windows on each side of the mandapa, its walls and inner roof and those of the shrine, however, were not materially interfered with, but the outer roof of the mandapa and the spire of the shrine were either largely reconstructed or covered with so thick a coating of lime, as entirely to mask the original. But whether this is the temple for which the inscription slabs of the beginning of the ninth century were engraved may possibly be questioned: the pillars and some details certainly belong to that period, but if there were no such inscription to influence us, the archæologist

¹ In his *Archæol. Survey Reports*, vol V, pl. xlv, General Sir A. Cunningham has given a plan and elevation of this temple, drawn by himself, which are not correct, especially in the details most essential for estimating its age, the height of the spire above the eaves of the *mandapa* is dwarfed from 21' 5" to 15', the small representations of *śikharas* on the walls are neither of the modern form nor all in the positions represented, and the middle facet of the spire is elaborately carved with 'horse-shoe' or shell diaper carving, similar to that on the ruined temple of Jamadagni in the court of the temple of Vaidyanātha. The only way one can account for the inaccuracies of this elevation is to suppose that after measuring for the plan, a rough sketch was made of the north side, with the height of the walls measured, and the details left out, or only roughly marked as reproduced in the plate. Mr. Fergusson finds serious fault with this drawing (*Ind. & East. Archit.*, p. 316n), but mistakes the small temple of Jamadagni in his engraving (p. 316) for this temple of Siddhanātha or Siddheśvara. The style is quite the same and they belong to the same age.

² Cunningham, *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, vol V, p. 178, says the *mandapa* is 49 feet square outside: this is probably a misprint for 28 feet.

might be disposed to assign the general structure to a somewhat later date. Tradition says it is the *seventh* restoration, and it seems not improbable that, when Mahmūd of Ghaznī invested Nagarkot or Kāngrakot in 1008, his troops may have wrecked the Vaidyanātha temple also, and that it was, soon after, rebuilt with such important parts of the old materials as the two *prāsasti* slabs and the columns. The inscriptions are on two stone tablets at the ends of the front cross aisle of the mandapa,—No. I, in the south wall, measures 2' 3" by 2' 4", and No. II, in the north, measures 2' 3" by 2' 5".

In the niche in the back wall or east side of the shrine outside, is a sandstone figure of Sūrya, wearing a laced jacket, placed in a marble pedestal which is almost hidden by the ledge of the niche, but which bears on its facets an inscription (given below) dated Samvat 1296, and recording the dedication of an image of Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth Jaina Tirthamkara. This stone must therefore have come from some Jaina temple in the neighbourhood. And in one of the small temples in the court is an image of Supārśvanātha, the seventh Jina.

The small temples in the court are all more or less ruined. They are now named as if dedicated to Jagannāth, Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa, Bhairava, Jamadagni, Narmadeśvara, and Kādhā-Krishṇa, while one is nameless. In front of the porch is the usual Nandi-mandapa or small canopy over the couchant bull or *vāhana* of Śiva, and behind it is a standing figure of the animal.—J. B.]

In his *Archæological Reports*, volume V, pp. 180-181, Sir A. Cunningham notices two large inscriptions which he found in 1846 in the famous temple of Śiva-Vaidyanātha, *vulgo* Baijnāth, at Kīragrāma or Kīrgrāon in the Kāngra District of the Panjāb. He gives their date Saptarshi Samvat or Lokakāla 80 and Śaka Samvat 726, *i.e.*, 80½ A.D., as well as a summary of their historical contents, and quotes two verses, I, 89, and II, 6, in full, according to the readings of Bābu (now Rājā) Śivaprasāda, O.S.I.³ The śloka given in full show clearly that the decipherer has not succeeded in overcoming the great difficulties of his task. For they contain, besides lacunæ, impossible Sanskrit forms, and metrical mistakes. Moreover the historical information extracted from the two documents is by no means exact. Dr. J. Burgess has forwarded to me a double set of paper impressions of the two inscriptions (*A* and *B*), and of late two more (*C*), made under his own superintendence, according to which I now attempt a complete edition.⁴ Though the last two, one on thick and one on thin paper, have been made with great care, I find it impossible to solve all the difficulties completely. A great number of indistinct or mutilated letters occur especially in lines 1-14 and at the end of No. I as well as in the first and last lines of No. II. These defects become particularly serious on account of the difficult character of the alphabet. They frequently force the decipherer to have recourse to conjectures which in most cases can be made with great certainty. In one passage of No. I and in three passages of No. II I have failed to find the words required, while one passage in No. I remains doubtful.

The technical execution is in general very good. The characters belong to the Śarada alphabet, a branch of the *Brāhmī lipi*, which has been used for many centuries in the extreme north-west of India. Though our inscriptions differ in numerous

³ See also *loc. cit.*, plate xii, 5. Sir A. Cunningham refers to an article of Rājā Śivaprasāda, published in the *Simla Adhar* of 1849, a periodical which is not accessible to me.

⁴ A transcript of the historical portions, together with a discussion of their contents in German, has already been published at pp. 11-19 of the *Festgabe an Otto von Böhltingk*, Stuttgart, 1888. I have now been able to correct the text, given there, in various places, I, 83, II, 7, 14, 29, 31.

details from the modern Śāradā of Kāśmīr, the type is unmistakeable. This circumstance makes the documents very interesting for the student of palæography. They are the oldest specimens of Śāradā writing, considerably more ancient than Dr. Leitner's inscription from the reign of "king" Diddā in the Lahore Museum and even anterior to the coins of Avantivarman of Kāśmīr. Moreover they show pretty clearly the gradual development of the Śāradā. The initial vowels *a*, *ā*, *o*, and the consonants *ka*, *ja*, *bha*, *ya*, *ra*, *va*, still agree with the forms of the Horiuzi and Nepal palm-leaves, and differ from the modern Kāśmīrian. The initial *e*, *ta*, *na*, *pa* and *ba* present transitional forms, while *pha* is still more archaic than in the *Brāhmī* lipi. The remaining single letters and a number of groups are the same as in the Śāradā alphabet. Among them the single consonants *lha*, *gha*, *cha*, *da*, *tha*, *da*, *dha*, and *la*, the medial *ri*, the *Jihvāmūliya*, the *Upadhmanīya*, the groups *jñā* and those beginning with *na* and *ra*, are peculiarly characteristic of the Śāradā. In other cases, *e g*, in those of the medial *e*, *ai* and *o*, and of the subscribed *ba*, we find considerable vacillations. The medial *e* is mostly represented by a thick horizontal or slightly slanting stroke as in the Śāradā. Occasionally, however, the ancient *prishthamātrā* is used. Similarly the medial *ai* is mostly expressed by two horizontal lines, more rarely by a *prishthamātrā* and one horizontal line. Again, the medial *o* shows in the great majority of cases the peculiar wavy line of the Śāradā alphabet, which resembles a Greek circumflex. But a few instances occur where it is expressed by *e*, either superscribed or a *prishthamātrā* plus *ā*. As regards the subscribed *ba*, it shows either the peculiar form of the single *ba*, which resembles a modern Śāradā *va*, or more rarely is hardly distinguishable from *va*. But in one case, *chumbitāh*, No. II, l. 3, it is exactly like the modern Śāradā *ba*. It would lead me too far if I were here to enter on a more detailed discussion of the alphabet of these inscriptions. But the points which have been noticed will suffice to show that it possesses great interest and well deserves a separate full treatment in connexion with the characters on the Kāśmīrian coins, the inscription from the reign of Diddā and the Champā grant, published by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol XVII, p. 7ff. The language of the inscription is pure and good Sanskrit, full of very rare words, which furnish some valuable contributions for the dictionary. The spelling shows very few and slight mistakes. It closely resembles that of the Kāśmīrian MSS. by the constant use of the *Jihvāmūliya* and of the *Upadhmanīya*, instead of the *Visarga* before *ka*, and *pa*, as well as by the assimilation of the nasals to the following consonants in compound words. The spelling *pralīptāvanam* for *pralīptāvanam*, No. II, verse 15, too, deserves attention.

No. I consists of two distinctly separate parts, a hymn addressed to Śiva and Pārvatī, which, with its nineteen verses, fills lines 1-16. Then follows a new *Mangala*, contained in a single verse, and then only the real Prasasti which gives (1) an account of Lakshmanachandra the lord of Kīragrāma; (2) an account of Manyuka and Āhuka, the founders of the temple, which is also briefly described; (3) a notice of various donations made by certain other persons to the temple, (4) a notice of the masons or architects who erected the building; (5) a notice of the poet who wrote the Prasasti, (6) the date, together with a mention of the overlord, the king to whom Lakshmanachandra owed allegiance. No. II is of one piece. It contains (1) a *Mangala* of five verses, (2) a mention of the king of Jālandhara, of the two founders of the temple, of Kīragrāma and its lord, (3) a detailed genealogy of the latter; (4) a fuller account of Manyuka

and Âhuka describing their piety and the cause which led to the erection of the temple, and naming their ancestors, (5) an account of various donations made by the founders, by Lakshmanachandra and by his mother, together with the usual blessing on those who uphold the grants and curses against those who seize them; (6) an account of the author of the Praśasti; (7) a notice, it would seem, of an additional donation, in prose, (8) the date. The fact that two Praśastis by the same author are found in one temple is unusual. It may be explained by the supposition that the various donations were not made at the same time. The first Praśasti, it would seem, was composed immediately after the temple had been built and the three grants, mentioned in it, had been made. Later, the lord of the village and his mother made also donations. This seems to have rekindled the zeal of the founders. They not only responded to the liberality of their masters by making some further endowments for the temple, but they also had again recourse to the skill of their poet, who now devoted still more verses to the chiefs of Kīrāgrāma than on the first occasion, and, of course, also duly sang the praises of the piety and liberality of his employers. This explanation is, I think, supported by some hints contained in the inscriptions. The composition of the Praśasti, which I have called No. I in accordance with Sir A. Cunningham's opinion, must be certainly assigned to the time immediately after the completion of the building, because it gives some details regarding the appearance of the latter, because it names the architects who constructed it, and because it begins with the hymn addressed to Śiva and his spouse. It was a natural idea to compose such a poem on the consecration of the new temple. Later, it would have been of less significance. These considerations, it seems to me, definitively settle the chronological order of the two poems.

If we now turn to the historical details which may be gathered from the two documents, those referring to the building of the temple are as follows. In Kīrāgrāma, either a large village or a small town which belonged to the kingdom of Jālandhara (I, 39; II, 6, 16) or Trigarta (II, 10, 18) and was situated on the river Kandukābindukā (II, 10, the modern Bīnoa or Bīnwā),⁵ lived two wealthy merchants, Manyuka and Âhuka, who were brothers (II, 26) and members of an undivided family (I, 28). They were the sons of Siddha (I, 27, 28; II, 23) and Chhinna (I, 27). Their grandfather was called Kāhila, the great-grandfather Pāhila, and the father of the latter Śāhila (II, 28). Manyuka, the elder among them, had a wife, named Gulhā (I, 28). Both were devout worshippers of Śiva (I, 30; II, 8, 9, 26, 27-29), and their zeal for their faith induced them to build a temple for an ancient *linga* which stood in Kīrāgrāma and was called Vaidyanātha⁶ (II, 25). The temple consisted of a *prati*, or adytum, and of a *Mandapa* in front of that (I, 29; II, 25). It was adorned with numerous sculptures, such as the images of the Ganas, Śiva's celestial attendants (I, 37), and at the gates stood statues or reliefs of the rivers Gangā and Yamunā and of other divine beings (I, 29).⁷ The architects were Nāyaka, son of Āsika, of Suśarmanagara, probably the modern Koṭ Kāngrā, and Thodhuka II., son of Sammana (I, 35-37). Immediately after its consecration, the temple received various endowments which, it would seem, were chiefly destined to defray the expenses of the religious services, and perhaps of the repairs

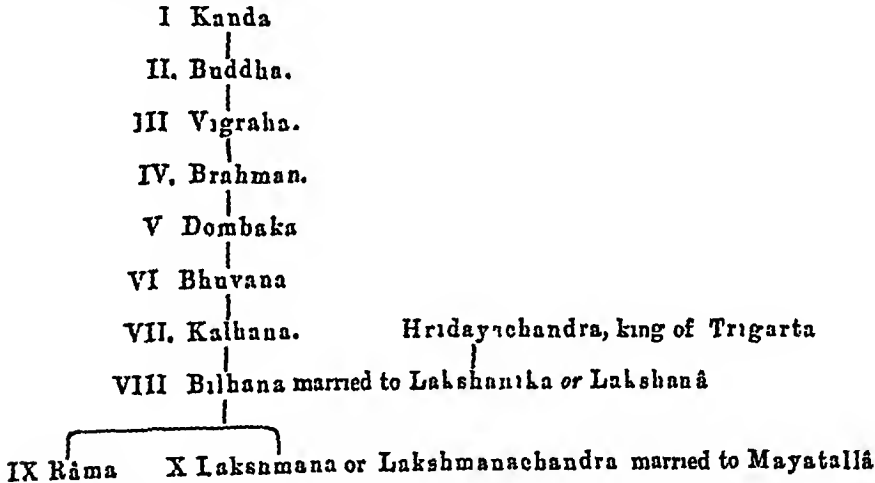
⁵ The former name is given in the Kāngrā Gazetteer, p. 21, the latter by Sir A. Cunningham. The river is a tributary of the Vipāśā or Bīās.

⁶ This is a very common appellation of Śiva, and many Vaidyanathas are found in the most different parts of India.

⁷ Compare also the description of the temple in J. Fergusson's *History of Indian Architecture*, pp. 315-18, and wood-cut, No. 178.

of the building. The Brāhman Ralhana, an astrologer of Suśarmapura,⁸ son of Āsuka, gave two *dionas* of grain "from Navagrāma" (I, 31, 32), *i.e.*, the right to that amount which had to be delivered annually by the donor's serfs or cultivators in Navagrāma. Another Brāhman, Ganeśvara, son of Govinda and inhabitant of Kiragrāma, made a donation of half a plough of land in Navagrāma, where he possessed a field which required four *droṇas* of seed-corn (I, 33). A rich merchant, Jīvaka, son of Depika, and Malhikā, presented his land in Kiragrāma for the court-yard of the temple (I, 34). Later, the local chieftain Lakshmanachandra and his mother Lakshanikā added some further endowments. The former granted daily two *drammas* out of the income of the *mandapikā*, *i.e.*, the custom-house where the transit, import and export duties were levied (II, 30), and the latter, one plough of land, situated in the village of Pralamba. Thereupon the founders of the temple likewise showed their liberality. They gave an oil-mill which they possessed in Kiragrāma, in order to provide lamps for the temple (II, 33), a shop and a piece of good land, measuring four ploughs, for the *bhoga*, the maintenance, of the god (II, 34).

As regards the account of the Rājānakas of Kiragrāma No. II, verses 11-20, gives the following pedigree.—



Kanda is twice called (II, 11, 20) emphatically the founder of the family. The former verse says of him, that he was the root (*kanda*) of an incomparable family (*kula*) which resembles a Bakula tree, and the latter speaks of the servants of the lotus-feet of the kings of Trigarta, the first of whom was Kanda. As his eighth lineal descendant ruled about 800 A D, he must have lived in the end of the sixth century of our era, or in the beginning of the seventh. Neither he himself nor any of his successors seems to have performed great deeds. The descriptions are purely conventional. Only with respect to Dombaka it is hinted that he formed alliances with other kings, and regarding Bilhana we learn that he married the daughter of his hege-lord Hridayachandra. The latter point is of some importance, as it shows that the Rājānakas⁹ of

⁸ Suśarmapura, which is also called Suśarmānagara, seems to have been a place of some consequence. The first part of the compound name probably refers to Suśarmachandra, the reputed founder of the dynasty of Jalandhara, see Cunningham, *Archaeological Report*, vol. V, p. 155. According to the tradition given by Sir A. Cunningham, this prince lived at the time of the Great War, and founded Nagarkot or Kot Kangra. Hence it is extremely probable that Suśarmapura is identical with the fortress at the town which is still the capital of the Kangra District.

⁹ The title *rājānaka*, literally 'kinglet,' is chiefly known from Kāśmīrian sources. The *Rājataranginī*, VI, 261, mentions that Didda bestowed it on Narvāhana, one of her generals. Later it has been given to various Kāśmīrian Brahmins, some of whose descendants still bear it.

Kīragrāma were noble Rājputs, and, though only feudal barons, stood high enough in the estimation of the world to be thought worthy of an alliance with the royal house of Jālandhara-Trigarta. It shows, further, that they probably possessed a larger territory than a single village or small town. This view may be supported by the somewhat indefinite statements in I, 27, and II, 20-21, where the country (*deśa*) of Lakshmanachandra is mentioned and the assertion is made that he enjoyed the whole territory (*bhūmi*) which his ancestors had held. Finally Bilhana's marriage proves that the Rājānakas of Kīragrāma did not belong, as Sir A. Cunningham conjectures, *loc cit.*, to a branch-line of the dynasty of Trigarta, for among Kshatriyas exogamy is obligatory in accordance with the sacred law, and marriages between members of the same family or clan are against the generally prevailing custom.

With respect to Rāma, Bilhana's eldest son, No II, verse 19, states that he died early and was dead when the Prasasti was composed. The reigning prince Lakshmanachandra is praised also in No. I, 21-26. We are informed that he undertook a pilgrimage to Kedāra, the modern Kedārnāth in Garhwāl,¹⁰ and on this occasion took the vow never to commit a rape on the wife of any of his subjects. This vow, the Prasasti says, he kept most faithfully, and the poet asks with a charming *naïvete*, what austerity could be difficult of performance for a prince whose heart avoided the wives of others, though youth, beauty, money and *complaisant* servants were at his command. The picture of the morals of the time, which these verses unfold, is certainly not a flattering one.

Lakshmanachandra's liege-lord is mentioned twice, No. I, 39, and No. II, 6. His name is not Jayachandra, as Rājā Śivaprasāda has read it, but Jayachandīa.¹¹ He probably was a brother of Lakshmanachandra's mother, Lakshanikā, and a son of Hridayachandra. But, however that may be, the two inscriptions certainly furnish the names of two rulers of Jālandhara or Trigarta, who closely followed each other. The history of this dynasty, some members of which are also mentioned in the *Rājataranginī*, has been discussed by Sir A. Cunningham, *Archæological Reports*, vol V, p. 155ff, and *Ancient Geography*, p. 136ff. I have nothing to add to his remarks. But some identifications, such as that of Hsuen Tsiang's U-ti-to with the non-existent Atrehand,¹² have now to be abandoned.

Rāma, the poet, who wrote the two Prasastis, introduces his name three times. He names himself at the end of the *Gaurīśvarastotra* (I, 18). In verses 38-39 of the same Prasasti he again says that he wrote the poem and mentions his parents, Bhṛingaka and Sringārā. In the third passage, II, 36-37, he once more names his father Bhṛingaka and adds that the latter was a poet since his earliest childhood and the *pramātri* of the king of Kaśmīr. I am unable to say what the office of a *pramātri*¹³ was. The etymological import of the word leads one to suspect that it had to do with spiritual affairs. Regarding himself Rāma states in the same passage that he was a young man when he wrote "this poem of simple meaning." In No. I, 36, he calls himself *Kavīśvara*, "a prince among poets." It is very probable that he may have earned this title in spite of his

¹⁰ See the *Gazetteer of India*, *sub voce*.

¹¹ This seems to have been a name of more frequent occurrence. The real name of the last Rāthor of Kanauj, who succumbed to the Ghoris, was also Jayachandīa—see *Indian Antiquary*, vol XV, p. 10ff. The Jauas, too, call him Jayantachandra, using the Prakrit form of the present participle.

¹² This 'Atr Chind' seems to be the result of a mis-deletion of the word *atulaḥula* in No. II, verse 11.

¹³ The word occurs also in a Valabhi inscription, *Indian Antiquary*, vol VII, p. 76. But its meaning is there probably different, because it stands before a female name.

youth. Judged by the Hindu standard, he was a great poet, and no European even will dispute his great ability and learning. The fourteen verses, 2-17, of his *stotra*, which each are applicable both to Śiva and to Gaurī, and the puzzling stanza, II, 3, which describes the eight forms of Śiva in four accessory sentences, the frequent change of the metres, and the various *alamkāras*, found in both Prāśastis, prove his great skill in versification and his mastery over the language. Numerous rare words and forms and the general correctness of his language prove that he had deeply studied grammar and knew the *Kośhas* well.

The most difficult point in the inscription is that which still remains undiscussed—the date. The last verse of No. I—

संवत्सरेषीतितमे [प्र]स[न्ने] [ज्येष्ठ]स्य शुक्लप्रतिपत्तिथौ च ।

[त्र्योमञ्ज]यच्चन्द्रनरेन्द्रराज्ये रवेर्दिने रामकृता प्रशस्तिः ॥

mentions the year 80 of an unspecified era and the *pratipat* or first day of the bright half of the month Jyaishtṥa. Thus much may be considered certain. For, though the first two syllables of the name of the month are damaged, there can be no doubt that they were either *Jyaishtṥa* or *Jyeshṥa*. As regards the last word of the first *pāda*, the only certain portions are the *sa* and the final vowel *e*, a well-formed *prishthamātrā*. The right side of the first sign is badly damaged. I can only think that it was either *pra* or *प्र pra + i*. The third group seems to have been *nne*, but might possibly be read *ndhe*. The word may therefore have been either *prasanne*, as I have assumed, or *prasindhe*, a mistake for *prasiddhe*, as Rājā Śivaprasāda has read it. In either case it is an adjective, the sense of which does not affect the date. The year is thus decidedly the eightieth, and there can be no doubt that it refers, as Sir A. Cunningham thinks,¹⁴ to the Saptarshī Samvat or Lokakāla, which has been used since a long time in Kāśmīr and in the adjoining Hill States. The year 80 of each century of the Lokakāla corresponds to a year 26 of the Śaka Samvat and to a year 4-5 of the Christian era.¹⁵ Both Prāśastis have, or rather have had, also dates according to the Śaka Samvat. In No. I, the Śaka date stood just below the verse quoted above. The compound *śakakālagatābdāḥ*, “the elapsed years of the Śakakāla,” is still faintly visible in both impressions. It is best preserved in impression B, and in the latter appears also, just below the interstice, between the ninth and tenth signs of line 33, the remnant of a numeral sign which can only have been 6 or 8. Prāśasti No. II has again *śakakālagatābdāḥ*, and after this word three numeral signs, the first of which is clearly 7. The following two may have been 26, as Sir A. Cunningham has read them and has represented them on plate xlii, 5, of the *Archæological Reports*, vol. V. But on the impressions they are by no means certain. These data, imperfect as they are, point to the conclusion at which Sir A. Cunningham arrived, that both Prāśastis have been engraved in the same year Saptarshī Samvat 80, Śaka Samvat 726, *i e*, 804 A D. Unfortunately the further specification in No. I, “the first day of the bright half of Jyaishtṥa, a Sunday,” raises a difficulty. According to the independent calculations of Mr. J. F. Fleet and Dr. Schram the lunar day mentioned of Śaka Samvat 726 corresponds to May 13th, 804 A D., which was a *Tuesday*, not a *Sunday* as stated in the inscription. I am not in a position to offer a solution of this difficulty. But I believe I may say this much, that whatever the solution

¹⁴ See above, p. 98

¹⁵ See my *Kashmir Report*, p. 59, and Sir A. Cunningham's *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 6ff

may be, it will not materially alter our opinion regarding the age of the inscription. For *Praśasti* No II was clearly incised after Śaka Samvat 700 and before Śaka Samvat 800, because the first of its three figures is 7.

TRANSCRIPT.¹⁶

L 1. श्री [स्वस्ति श्री] नम[१ ग]णपयो[ः] ।¹⁷

यद्यप्यहं पश्यते कुमति[द्र] एव
पर्याप्तभक्तिविव[शे]न मया त[था]पि ।
अस्यां स्तुती [अ]वणले[छर]सांशभा[जि]
[गौ]-

L. 2. [यं]ा सहैव परमेश निमन्त्रितोसि ॥ [१॥]¹⁸
पा[शच्छेद]न[क]र्तारि प्र[ण]मतां मोहान्धकूपवृद्ध -
[क्लोक]प्रोद्धरण[क्षमे] नि[रु]पमानन्देक[स]दायिनि ।
दुर्गे द्वार ७ - ७

L. 3. हारिणि हरित्र[ङ्गा]दिदेवस्तुते
भक्तिः चेमविधायिनि त्रिनयने त्वय्येव न[स्त्वा]मिनि ॥ [२ ॥]¹⁹
व्यापद्वि[समू]ल[पा]टन[क]रो त्वं गीयसे स[र्व]दा
[मा]-

L. 4. ता [त्वं] जगतस्तवास्ति न मिति[स्त्वे]षां [महि]म्नामिह ।
उक्ति × केवलमेव [शो]भत इयं नो देव[मा]तिति ते
संसर्ग × पि[तृ]काननैरुपचि[तै]राश्रयते च [त्वया] ॥ [३ ॥]²⁰

L. 5. यस्य[१]हिमासयो[त्कर्ष]पोषिणी [सू]तिरुत्तमा ।
तस्यानमन्ति चरणौ धन्या × केचन जन्तवः ॥ [४ ॥]²¹
धन्यै[र्न]रैरु[ग्र]वधूस्तदैव [त्व]मुद्यसे [भ]क्ति -

L. 6. भराभिरामेः ।
क्लेशापहारीतिमनोहराभिर्वा[ग्भि] × क[वीना]मुपगीय[से] च ॥ [५ ॥]²²
आसन्नमृत्युत्वदशासुपेयुषां पुरेषु नास्याममरेषु कु -

L. 7. र्वताम् ।
सत्यं भवानीशरणाभिलाषिणां मनोरथं पूरयितुं प्रगल्भते ॥ [६ ॥]²³
सुहृत्समुद्रासिन एव शु[द्ध]को[ड]ाग्निकृत्तासुरस[र्म]प[स्य] ।

¹⁶ All letters, which are effaced or badly damaged, have been enclosed between square brackets. The numerals mark in the verses are not found in the inscription.

¹⁷ According to A the last words might also be read *namo ganapaye* ||, i. e. *ganapati*. But as clerical mistakes are rare in this inscription, and as the seeming first vertical stroke after the last *akṣara* is not quite regular, I prefer the reading *ganapayoh*, to which B and C point.

¹⁸ Metre, *Vasantatilakk* — The *anusvāra* of *pyāṣaṇ*, is not distinct. Possibly *evāṇ*. The last vowel of *ūhāṣ* is dis-

tinct but the *ya* is not recognisable. The second vowel of *sahāṣa* is blurred. The last vowel of *nimantrito* looks like *e*.

¹⁹ Metre, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*. The last vowel of *trinayane* has run together with the *a* of *kāpa* in the upper line.

²⁰ Metre, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

²¹ Metre, *Anuṣṭubh*.

²² Metre, *Upajāti*.

²³ Metre, *Vamśastha*. The *anusvāra* of *upayusāḍa* is not distinct.

- L. 8. सत्य हरैरप्युपरि त्वमेव सन्तिष्ठसे नि[ष्टु]रवीर्यधाम्नः ॥ [७॥]²⁴
 [म]लादिद्वयदयाह्लादिद[र्श]नतो दिने दिने ।
 बहुदेहान्तर[स्था]ण[स्व]मेव किल कथ्यसे ॥ [८॥]²⁵
- L. 9 प्रसरन्मरीचिचयचन्द्रचारुणा वदनेन राजसितरामतिथिणा ।
 बहुशोणिमादिगुणसम्पदालयौ परिपूजयन्ति चरणौ तवामराः ॥ [९॥]²⁶
- L. 10. त्रैलोक्यजनन्यां त्वयि करुणावति युज्यते नृणां भक्ति ।
 त्रैलौ[क्या]न्तर्निलयं त्वं हि [ज]नं नयसि परमपदम् ॥ [१०॥]²⁷
 गिरिजेशाधिखित्री[स्त्रि]
- L. 11. त्व गतिर्भव साम्प्रतम् [।]
 संसारसागराच्चेतो भोर मे नीयता शमम् ॥ [११॥]
 शिवायैकविनन्तव्यपुष्पपादाग्रपासवे ।
 तुभ्य[स्तुभ्य]द्विपुष्पसम -
- L. 12. द्वाशक्तिमते नमः ॥ [१२॥]²⁸
 चतुर्वक्ष्यपलसद्विष्टविषमेषु प्रयोजक[ः।]
 त्रैलौ[क्ये]स्त्रौजनो योत्र तस्य त्वमधिदैवतम् ॥ [१३॥]²⁹
 [शोभि]ता[ना] त्रिभिर्देवैर्द[डा]नि -
- L. 13 शरणेषिणाम् [।]
 वपुश् श्रीमदविध्वंसं विधातु प्रजगल्भिषे ॥ [१४]
 आपत्कलापमेलापपरितापप्रलापिनम् [।]
 गौरीशास्त्रि विमोहात्कं [कक्षा]तुम -
- L. 14. परं क्षमः ॥ [१५॥]³⁰
 शर्वाणिमान त्वद्भक्ता यान्ति सर्वातिशायिनम् ।
 प्रसीद मातस्संसारच्छीघ्रमेव विमोचय ॥ [१६॥]³¹
 गाढा गजानने प्रीतिस्स[र्वमो]हि व -
- L. 15 पुस्तदा ।
 उद्दीपितस्मरा दृष्टिर्यस्यास्ते तत्पदं नुमः ॥ [१७॥]³²
 इति रामेण निरामय सममुमया यन्मया स्तुतोसि विभो[।]
 श्रुत्वा तममोघीकुरु परित्यज
- L. 16. परमकारुणिक ॥ [१८॥]
 एकोक्त्या स्तोत्रमिदं गौरीश्वरयोऽ पठन्ति ये भक्त्या ।
 तेषामप्यभिलाषस्तिष्ठतु शिवयोऽ, प्रसादेन ॥ [१९॥]³³
 इति गौरीश्वरस्तोत्रम् ॥ ।

²⁴ Metro, Upajāti The *u* of *apypari* is almost gone²⁵ Metro, Anushtubh²⁶ Metro, Vajubhāṣini²⁷ Metro, Āryā.²⁸ Metro of verses 11-12, Anushtubh²⁹ Metro, Anushtubh Read *chañchachāpa*³⁰ Metro of verses 14 15, Anushtubh³¹ Metro, Anushtubh The *anuvāra* of *sañāmanah* has run together with the *śrī* in the upper line³² Metro, Anushtubh³³ Metro of verses 18 19, Āryā

- L 17 अस्ति शोतलगभस्तिशेखर त्वग्रशस्तिकरणेऽकुतोईता ।
किन्तु पावकमयाच्च तावकी भक्तिरेव जडतां भनक्ति नः ॥ [२०] ॥³⁴
अद्यापि विस्मापयिता -
- L. 18. र एते विद्यन्त एवेश्वरभक्तिमन्तः [।]
विचित्रचारित्रनिधिर्यथैष राजानको लक्ष्मणचन्द्रनामा ॥ [२१] ॥
केदारयात्रां विरचय्य यंन विशोधनीं प्राक्त -
- L. 19 नदुष्कृतस्य ।
इतः परं सर्वपरस्त्रियो मे स्वसार इत्येव कृता प्रतिष्ठा ॥ [२२] ॥³⁵
किमेतदाश्चर्यमवार्यवीर्यं यंदेष योधैर्युधि दुष्प्रध[र्ष]ः [।]
धनु -
- L 20. धंराणां धुरि यो मनोभू बभूव तस्याप्यविधेय एव ॥ [२३] ॥³⁶
अद्येश्वरा मन्दपराक्रमत्वं मत्वा विपक्षैरवधारिताग्नाः [।]
[व]ास्तव्यनारीहठस[ङ्ग]मेन
- L. 21. पुराधिपत्यं सफलं विदन्ति ॥ [२४] ॥³⁷
नवं वयो रूपमधि[त्रि] दातृता पुराधिपत्यं बहवः प्रियहराः [।]
तथापि चेतः परदारवर्जं चेत्किमस्ति दुस्साधमतः प-
- L. 22. रं तप ॥ [२५] ॥³⁸
राजानकस्य प्रविशुजुधेः पाणिः कृपाणग्रहणप्रवीणः [।]
विवजयामास विगर्हितानि तस्य[ग]न्यनारीस्तनमर्दनानि ॥ [२६] ॥³⁹
तस्यास्ति
- L. 23. देसेत्र वणिक् प्रसिद्धस्सिद्धात्मजो मन्युकनामधेयः [।]
छिन्नेत्यविच्छिन्नमद्देशभक्तेर्मातावदातचरितस्य य[स्य] ॥ [२७] ॥⁴⁰
यस्याहु[का]ख्यीक्यविभक्तवित्तो
- L. 24. भ्राता कनिष्ठस्सुकृतैकनिष्ठः [।]
व्यग्रा समग्रातिथिपूजनाय गुह्येति गर्हारहिता च भा[र्या] ॥ [२८] ॥⁴¹
भक्ति[द्रुवाटे] भसलेन ते[न] [स]भ्रातृकेन त्रिपु-
- L. 25. रागतकस्य ।
हारस्यगङ्गायमुनादिभूर्तिः कृता पुरीयं सह मण्डपेन ॥ [२९] ॥⁴²
भस्त्रागर्भगृहीतसर्वविभवा नेदिष्ठदेशे क्वचि द्ये कुर्वन्ति गतागता -

³⁴ Metre, Rathoddhata The *avagraha* before *kutorhatā* is indicated by a thin vertical line The inscription has *prima manu tāviki*, which has been corrected to *tāvaki* After this verse stands a sign which looks like a rude representation of a *yon* and *linga* united.

³⁵ Metre of verses 21-22, Upajāti

³⁶ Metre, Upendravajrā

³⁷ Metre, Upajāti

³⁸ Metre, Vamśastha

³⁹ Metre, Upajāti

⁴⁰ Metre Indravajrā Read *deśe*.

⁴¹ Metre, Indravajrā

⁴² Metre, Upajāti *Druvāḍe* is a conjecture and uncertain

L 26

नि वणिजी गण्या वराका × क ते ।

धन्यो मन्थुकनामधेय इह हि श्रीकण्ठरत्नम्भन × -
 पोतप्रोतविवेकवेतनधनो मोहार्णवतीर्णवान् ॥ [३०॥]⁴⁵
 देवद्विजगु -

L 27.

रुभक्तस्त्रीजन्यनिधिर्गुणिप्रियो दाता ।
 आसुकसुतोक्ति विप्रो रत्ननामा सुशर्मपुरे ॥ [३१॥]⁴⁶
 तेन दैवश्रुत्येण धान्यद्वीपद्वय शिवे ।
 वरमान[स्त्र]भूष्ट -

L. 28

छान्नवग्रामात्समर्पितम् ॥ [३२॥]
 इहत्येन नवग्रामादत्ता चा[त्र] इ[लार्ध]भूः [।]
 गणेश्वरेण गोविन्दद्विजपुत्रेण धीमता ॥ [३३॥]⁴⁷
 देपिकाङ्गजनितेन मल्लिका -

L 29.

सूनना विततवित्तशालिना ।
 जीवकेन वणिजा निजा च भू × प्राङ्गणाय पुरतश्च शिवेर्पिता ॥ [३४॥]⁴⁸
 [या]वदे[य] भगवा[न्भुवाम्य]ति व्योम कोम[लरु]चिच ग[ाह] -

L 30.

मन्थुकाङ्क[कलत]श्च शिवालयस्तावदस्तु सममन्यसासनः ॥ [३५॥]⁴⁹
 आसिकात्मज उ[दा]रधी[र्व]स भूतधारधुरि नायकाभिधः ।
 श्रीसुश[र्म]-

L 31.

नगरादिहाययी [सम्भ]नस्य तनयश्च ठोटुकः ॥ [३६॥]
 तेन तेन च सहैव टट्टिता प्रोन्नता शिवपुरी समण्डपा ।
 [शा]सुदृष्टिमनुसृत्य नि[र्मि]-

L. 32.

ता यत्र भान्ति गणवर्गमूर्तयः ॥ [३७॥]⁵⁰
 शृङ्गाराभङ्गकौ यस्य पितरौ पुण्यशालिनौ ।
 स प्रशस्तिमिमां चक्रे रामनामा क[वी]र' ॥ [३८॥]⁵¹
 संवत्सरेणोतितमे[प्र]स[न्ने] [ज्यैष्ठ]स्य शुक्लप्रतिपत्तिथौ च ।
 [त्री]म[ल्ल]यश्चन्द्रनरेन्द्रराज्ये रवे[र्दि]ने रामकृता प्रशस्तिः ॥ [३९॥]⁵²
 ॥ श्री नमश्च शिवाय ॥

L. 35. [शककालगताब्दाः] -⁵³⁴⁵ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita⁴⁶ Metre, Ārya⁴⁷ Metre of verses 32-33, Anuṣṭubh⁴⁸ Metre, Rathoddhātā Read *śānuna* The *ra* of *prāṅgaṇāya* is indistinct⁴⁹ Metre, Rathoddhātā. Perhaps *bhūtaspatiḥ* Possibly the stone has a mistake *esa* for *eśa* A letter, probably *ma*, has been scratched out between the two *ma*s of *samam* Read **Śāsanāḥ* After this verse stands a sign which looks like the rude representation of a lotus⁵⁰ Metre of verses 36-37, Rathoddhātā The name in verse 30 may also be read *Maśmanasya* or *Saśmanasya*⁵¹ Metre, Anuṣṭubh Read *kaviśvaraḥ*, which is probable according to C⁵² Metre, Upajāti Regarding the end of the first Pāda see above, the introduction Possibly *jyeshṭhāśya* may be the reading of the stone This is the usual form for the name of the month in the inscriptions As Rāma evidently was a good grammarian, one may give him the benefit of the doubt⁵³ See the introduction, above, p 103

TRANSLATION.

Om, hail ! Om, obeisance to the two rulers of the Ganas !⁵²

V. 1. Though, O Paśupati, I am only running after folly,⁵³ yet art thou, supreme lord, invoked by me who am subdued by great devotion, together with Gaurī, in this hymn which possesses some portion of sentiment, sweet to the ear.

2a. Our devotion (*is*) to thee alone, who cuttest the bonds⁵⁴ of those bending (*before thee*) who art able to save men submerged in the hidden well of delusion, who alone grantest incomparable joy, who art difficult to reach, who takest away
who art praised by Hari, Brahman and the other gods, grantest security, (*and*) art (*our*) three-eyed lord.

b. Our devotion (*is*) to thee alone, three-eyed lady, O thou (*who art*) a knife to cut the bonds of those bending (*before thee*) O thou (*who art*) able to save men submerged in the hidden well of delusion, O thou (*who*) alone grantest incomparable joy, O Durgā O thou who takest away
O thou who art praised by Hari, Brahman and the other gods, O thou who grantest security !

3a Thou art ever praised as the elephant (*who effects*) the destruction of (*that*) creeper—misery—together with its roots, thou art the creator of the world, there is no limit to thy greatness here; (*to call*) thee, O god, creator, is the only fitting mode of address for us, and thou hauntest the burial-grounds, covered with pyres.

b Thou art ever praised as the destroyer of (*that*) creeper—misery—together with its roots, thou art the mother of the world; there is no limit to thy greatness here; (*to call*) thee mother of the gods is the only fitting mode of address for us; and thou dwellest in the dense woods of (*thy*) father (*Himālaya*).⁵⁵

4a. Some blessed beings bow at the feet of him whose exceeding beauty is enhanced by a garland of snakes.

b Some blessed beings bow at the feet of her whose exceeding beauty enhances the excellence of the Himālaya.⁵⁶

5a By blessed men, who are filled with devotion to Abhirāma (*Śiva*), thou art always called, O Ugra, a female (*Ardhandrī*) and thou art celebrated by the charming songs of poets as the remover of trouble.

b By blessed men who are lovely on account of their great devotion, thou art ever called the bride of Ugra, and thou art celebrated by the songs of poets, charming through their style, as the remover of trouble.⁵⁷

⁵² "The two rulers of the Ganas," i.e., Śiva and Pārvatī

⁵³ I translate *kumatidra* on the analogy of *madhūdra*, "a bee" and explain it by *kumatim drāti*. Rāma no doubt means to say that he has not yet reached that stage of wisdom which a true devotee of Śiva ought to have, but lives still in the world

⁵⁴ The translation of this verse and the following ones, marked a, refers always to Śiva, that marked b to Pārvatī. *Pāśa*, 'the bond or fetter,' is a term, commonly used in Śaiva philosophy—see *Sarvadarśana Saṃgraha*, p. 113 (Cowell and Gough)

⁵⁵ Pārvatī is characterised as a deity of the forest by her name *kāntāraśāśinī*

⁵⁶ Separate with the first translation, *gasya himālayā utkarṣaśāśinī* *tasya ānamanti* with the second *gasya himālayotkarṣaśāśinī* *tasyā namanti*

⁵⁷ Separate with the first translation, *ugra radhikā* *kṣēpāharitī manoharābhīḥ* with the second *ugravadhikā* *kṣēpāhā rīmanoharābhīḥ*. As Abhirāma is a name of Śiva, see Goldstuecker, *Sanskrit Dictionary*, sub voce. I take the compound *bhaktibhārābhīrāmāḥ* in the first translation to mean *bhaktibhārāḥ abhirāma yeshāḥ tair*. In the second I have rendered its usual sense, *bhaktibhārenābhīrāmāḥ*. But I should not wonder if Abhirāmā were a name of Pārvatī and the real sense were "who are filled with devotion to Abhirāmā"

6a. Thou, O Īśa, art able, indeed, to fulfil the wish of men who, approaching the hour of death, do not care for the towns of the gods, (*but*) desire (*eternal*) bliss.

b Bhavānī, indeed, is able to fulfil the wish of those who, approaching the hour of death, do not care for the towns of the gods, (*but*) seek (*her*) protection⁵³

7a. Thou alone standest, indeed, even above Hari, who again and again takes repose in the ocean, who drank the stream (*of blood*) from (*the body of*) the demon slain in a playful fight, and who possesses a brilliancy of fierce strength.

b Thou alone ridest, indeed, even on a lion, who again and again is lying (*curled up*) like a ring, who drinks the streams of the blood of those slain (*by thee*) in the battle-play, and who possesses fierce power⁵⁴

8a In accordance with the teaching which removes impurity and the other (*fetters*) and gladdens by (*granting*) happiness thou art, indeed, called every day the Sthānu (*immovable ātman*) in many different bodies.

b. On account of thy appearance which gladdens the hearts of those possessing impurity (*as their*) chief (*element*), thou art, indeed, called the minute (*Śakti*) residing in many different bodies⁵⁵

9a Thou art exceedingly resplendent with thy countenance surpassing the goddess Śrī and beautified through the (*crescent of the*) moon from which numerous rays issue forth; the immortals worship in manifold wise thy feet, the abode of a multitude of qualities, smallness and so forth.

b Thou art exceedingly resplendent with a countenance which surpasses the goddess Śrī and which is beautiful like the moon from which a multitude of rays issue forth; the immortals worship thy feet, the abode of a multitude of good qualities, great redness and so forth.⁵⁶

10a Devotion to thee, the leader of men in the three worlds, the compassionate one, is suitable for men, for thou leadest men to the highest place, into which the three worlds are absorbed.

b. Devotion to thee, the mother of the three worlds, O compassionate one, is suitable for men, for thou leadest, &c.

11a. Lord of the daughter of the Mountain, I am tormented by sorrows, be thou now my refuge; lead thou my fearful soul out of the ocean of births to (*eternal*) rest

b Daughter of the Mountain, rule me, I am tormented, be thou now my refuge, &c⁵⁷

12a Obeisance to Śiva, the dust of whose holy feet must alone be worshipped, to thee who possessest great power to destroy thy trembling foes-

b Obeisance to Śivā the dust of whose holy feet must be worshipped by poets, to thee, O thou who art known as the great Power (*able*) to destroy her trembling foes⁵⁸

⁵³ Separate with the first translation in pāda 3, *satyaṁ bhavān īśa ranābhīlāśhinām*, with the second *satyaṁ bhavānī saraṇābhīlāśhinām*

⁵⁴ When the verse refers to Śiva, *Hari* means Viṣṇu, who every year reposes during four months on Śeṣha in the ocean who slew the Asura Hiranyakāśipu in the Nūrasimha Avatara, and who, being also a solar deity, possesses a fierce brilliancy unbearable to the eye. When the verse refers to Pārvatī *Hari* denotes her lion, *samudrāsin* stands for *samudram*, i. e. *mudrayā sahitaṁ yathā sṛjāt tatā* and *āsin*, and finally *āśura* means blood and *dhāman* the abode or location

⁵⁵ Separate with the first translation *malādihṛt-ayāhlādi-darśanatoḥ* with the second *bahudehāntaraṣṭha-anuḥ*. The *darśana* intended is the Śaiva philosophy of the Kāśmīrians

⁵⁶ Separate with the first translation in Pāda 3, *bahukāḥ anirādigunasampadālayau*, with the second, the line forms one compound as it is printed. *Animan*, "smallness" means here "the power of making oneself very small" which is one of Śiva's qualities, see also below, verse 16. The "great redness" of Pārvatī's feet is, of course, due to their being dyed with lac

⁵⁷ Separate with the first translation, *gryeṣa dādhīkinnah*, with the second, *grye śādhī kinnah*

⁵⁸ Separate with the first translation, *śivāya ekavinantavya*, with the second *śivāya kavinantavya*

13a. Thou art in these three worlds the supreme deity of the heroes who employ themselves in dangerous (*undertakings and*) whose looks flash on the quivering bow.

b. Thou art in these three worlds the supreme deity of women who lead (*men*) into danger and whose glances flash like a quivering bow.⁶⁴

14a. Thou, Mrida, hast been able to grant a glorious, imperishable body to those who, adorned with three eyes, seek eternal bliss.

b. Thou, Mridāni, hast been able to grant a glorious, imperishable body to those who, adorned with three eyes, seek thy protection.⁶⁵

15a. Who else, lord of Gauri, is able to protect from delusion any one who complains of the great pain (*caused*) by the concurrence of a crowd of misfortunes?

b. Gauri rules him who complains of the great pain (*caused*) by the concurrence of a crowd of misfortunes; who else is able to protect any one?⁶⁶

16a. Śarva, thy devotees obtain a power of making themselves small, which surpasses every thing; be gracious, O creator, quickly free (*us*) from the circle of births

b. Śarvāni, thy devotees reach a dwelling that surpasses all others; be gracious, mother, &c.⁶⁷

17a. We bow at the feet of him who feels deep affection for the elephant-faced (*Ganeśa*), whose (*terrible*) appearance bewilders all, (*and*) whose eye has burnt Cupid.

b. We bow at the feet of thee, who feelest deep affection for the elephant-faced god, whose beauty charms every body (*and*) whose looks kindle love.⁶⁸

18. Hearing, O (*god*) free from (*all*) taint, that, O lord, thou hast thus been praised together with Umā by me, Rāma, make this exertion truly fruitful, most compassionate one!

19. By the grace of Śiva and Śivā may fulfilment attend the desire of those, too, who with devotion recite this praise of Gauri and Īśvara (*that*) by a single expression (*always conveys a double sense*).

Here ends the hymn (*addressed*) to Gauri and Īśvara.

20. There is, O thou who carriest the cold-rayed moon on thy crest, some small merit in making an eulogy of thee, but, O god with the eye of fire, devotion to thee alone destroys our dullness.

21. Even now exist such wonderful men, filled with devotion to Īśvara⁶⁹ like that store of marvellous virtue, the Rājānaka named Lakshmana chandra,

22. Who, after performing a pilgrimage to Kedāra, that cleanses from old sin, made even this vow, "Henceforth shall all wives of others be sisters for me."

23. What wonder is it that in battle he was secure from assaults by warriors of irresistible bravery, since he, a Cupid at the head of the bowmen, was not to be subdued even by that (*deity*).

24 At present rulers, whose commands are disregarded by their opponents—

⁶⁴ With the second translation it is necessary to read the second line, as it is printed, with the first to separate *traiḷokyē astriḡano*. I take *astri*, literally not female, as an equivalent of *vīra*. For the second meaning compare *Bālarāmdyana*, I, sl. 46.

⁶⁵ With the first translation separate *mṛḡa anīśaranaśhīndm*, with the second *mṛḡāns śaranaśhīndm*

⁶⁶ With the first translation separate in the second line, *gaurīśa asti*, with the second *gaurī śastī*

⁶⁷ With the first translation separate *śarva animānam* with the second *śarvāns mānam*. The word *māna*, rendered by "dwelling," may also mean "honour" or "pride"

⁶⁸ With the first translation separate in the second line *ygya dste*, with the second *ygyāḡ te*

⁶⁹ *Īśvarabhaktimantaḡ* "filled with devotion to Īśvara" means probably also "loyal to their liege-lords."

because they deem them to be of small prowess—think the sovereignty over a town to yield its legitimate result only by the rape of the wives of the inhabitants

25 Fresh youth, beautiful shape, liberality, sovereignty over a town, many flatterers (*all these are his*); if nevertheless his heart avoids the wives of others, what austerity is difficult to perform after that?

26 The hand of this pure-minded Rājānaka, which is expert in wielding the sword, has (*since*) avoided⁷⁰ the blamable pressing of the bosoms of the wives of others

27. In his country there is a well-known merchant, the son of Siddha, named Manyuka, Chinnā is the mother of that (*man*) whose devotion to Mahēśa is uninterrupted and whose life is pure,

28 Whose younger brother, undivided (*from him*) in property and solely intent on pious works, is called Āhuka, and whose blameless wife is named Gulhā.

29. By him, a bee in the park of devotion, and by his brother, has been erected this temple of the slayer of Tripura, at the doors of which stand the statues of Gangā, Yamunā and other (*deities*), together with a Mandapa.

30 In what (*rank*) are those miserable traders to be reckoned, who, taking with them all their wealth in the womb of their pouches, run to and fro somewhere in the nearest country? Blessed is he who is named Manyuka, for he has crossed the ocean of delusion, giving his wealth as the fee for the true knowledge implanted in his heart that is attached to Śrikantha (*and thus is*) the boat (*which carries him over*)

31. A man devoted to gods, Brāhmanas and Gurus, a store of generosity, a friend of the virtuous and liberal, is the Brāhmana Rāhāna, the son of Āsuka, in Suśarma-pura

32 By that chief of astrologers have been given to Śiva two *dronas* of grain from Navagrāma, where the surface of his land (*has*) the measure of one *Vaha*⁷¹

33. Moreover, by an inhabitant of this (*village, Kṛtragrāma*), wise Ganeśvara, the son of the Brāhman Gorinda, has been given to this (*Śiva*) (*a piece of*) land from Navagrāma (*measuring*) half a plough.

34. Further, by the son of Depika and Malhikā, the very wealthy merchant Jivaka, has his own land been presented to Śiva for the courtyard in front (*of the temple*).

35 And as long as this divine lord of the worlds with gentle beams dives into the expanse of heaven, so long may this temple of Śiva, built by Manyuka and Āhuka, exist together with the other grants

36 The high-minded son of Āsuka, named Nāyaka, who is at the head of masons, came from Suśarma's town to this (*village*) likewise Thodhuka, the son of Sammana.

37. By those two together has the very lofty temple of Śiva been fashioned with the chisel, as well as the *Mandapa*, (*it has been*) constructed in accordance with the opinion of Śāmu⁷² and on it glitter the figures of the crowd of the Ganas

38 The prince of poets, called Rāma, whose holy parents are Śringārā and Bhṛingaka, has composed this eulogy.

⁷⁰ The perfect *vivaryayamāsa* probably indicates that this praiseworthy conduct began after his pilgrimage to Kedarnāth

⁷¹ A *vaḥa* is equal to four *dronas* and the meaning is that Rāhāna's land in Navagrāma required four *dronas* of seed-corn

⁷² This must be the name of some writer on architecture

39. The eulogy, composed by Râma (*has been incised*)⁷³ in the eightieth year (*of the Lokakâla*) on the pleasant first day of the bright half of the month of Jyaishtâ, a Sunday, during the reign of king Jayachandra.

Om, obeisance to Sîva! The elapsed years of the Śaka era (*are*) . . 6(P)

No. II—TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. श्रीं स्व[स्ति श्रीं]नमश् श[र्व]ाय ।

[आशास्यं वो गजास्यो] वितरतु हरता[त्तार]कारिविकार
नन्दी सानन्द[नो]यं भवतु स [च] महाकालशूलस्य [ध]र्ता ।

L. 2. — — — — — [रच]यतु कु [रतां] वोरभद्रोपि [भ]द्रं
सर्वे वोखर्वगर्वा विदधतु कुशलं किङ्कराश्च शङ्करस्य ॥ [१॥]¹
स पातु वो [म]हादेवो — —

L. 3. — भक्तिशुभितः [।]
आत्मानं सु[हृ]रीक्षन्ते यत्पादनखदर्पणे ॥ [२॥]²
काष्ठोद्दीपनक[र्म]ठा जगति या या निर्निमेषेक्षणेस्सत्त्वज्ञे -

L. 4. रूपजीव्यते द्विजजनं या बिभ्रतो यस्य[ति] [।]
देवस्याहुतिलम्पटस्य परमा पुष्टिर्यतो [जा]यते तामिर्मूर्तिभिरष्टभिर्भवतु वो भूल्यै भवानोवि -
L. 5. [सः] ॥ [३॥]³

एतेनै[व] शरत्वमभ्युपगतं श्रोषाय पूर्वं पुरां संप्राप्त[ः] धनुषश्च त्रियं तनुरिय संप्रत्यसुष्येव च ।
व्यानश्चै हसतोव य[त्सु]र-
L. 6. रिपावित्यं सुहृर्विष्मया ब्रह्मक्षरसुपाक्षहे क्षरजितः पादद्वय [त]द्वयम् ॥ [४॥]⁴
यदप्यचेतनत्वाद्भक्तमशक्तस्सुरालयस्तदपि ।
अ -

L. 7. य केन [क]तोहमिति प्रशस्तिपृथुजिह्वया वदति ॥ [५॥]⁵
ज[ः]लम्बराधिराजो जयति गुणानां निधिर्जयश्चन्द्रः ।
ईदृशिय यस्य राज्ये देवायतना -

L. 8. नि जातानि ॥ [६॥]
वित्तं शिवे प्रयुक्तं येषां कालेन भवति कोटिगुणम् ।
ग[ण]्यास्त एव वणिजश्च शेषैः किं स्तोत्रवा[र्धु]यिकैः ॥ [७॥]
अनेन वक्ष्यमाणेन सुकृतेन महा -

L. 9. नयौ ।
गण्यौ गणेषु भ्रातरौ भूयास्तां मन्युकाहुकौ ॥ [८॥]⁶
तौ भ्रातरौ कृतज्ञौ याभ्यां शमदम[प]योधरयुतायाः ।
शि[व]भक्तिजनन्या [अ]पि रस -

⁷³ A verb has been intentionally left out in this sentence. It must have been either *utkrāṇā* or *samāptā* probably the former. With the reading *prastiddhe* (see above p. 103) the translation would be 'in the eightieth year known (in the world) : e., 'in the eightieth Laukika Samvatsara'.

¹ Metre, Śragdhara,—*gajāsya* and *kurutām* are very uncertain

² Metre, Anuṣṭubh

³ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita. The *u* of *°vibhūḥ* is variable

⁴ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita

⁵ Metre of verses 5—7, Āryā

⁶ Metre, Anuṣṭubh

L. 10. स्मसास्वादितस्सार्धम् ॥ [८]'

शैलस्याङ्गचलित्वा रुचिरनववया × खेलतीय सहैलं
कुल्या कन्येव यत् स्फुरदुरलहरी कन्दुकाविन्दुकाख्या ।
की -

L 11 रयामीभिरामी गुणगणनिलयो वर्ततेधित्रिगतं
सोय राजानकेन प्रवलभुजयु[जा रचि]तो लक्ष्मणेन ॥ [१०॥]⁸
अतुलकुलवकुलपा[दप]कन्द × प -

L 12. रिपयिभित्पुरास्कन्दः [१]
राजानकोत्त कन्द× प्रथममभू[दु]र्यमस्कन्द ॥ [११॥]⁹
बुद्धी विशुद्धबुद्धिस्तस्य सुतो जनयदुदुर तनयम् ।
विग्रह

L 13 इति कृतविरहश्च शत्रुवधूनां ततो जज्ञे ॥ [१२॥]
विग्रहविग्रहजातो ब्रह्मेति बभूव भूवधूदयितः [१]
विग्रहनिग्रहकरणे शक्तिर्यस्य[भि]वद्वि -

L 14. पुपु ॥ [१३॥]¹⁰
हस्तालम्बकमुद्रतादिलुठतामाराधितत्रयम्बक
शत्रुश्रीपरिचुम्बक परतिमिस्त्रीकारचिन्ताधकम् [१]
क्रान्तग्रामकदम्बक नृपतिमिस्त्रिदम्बु -

L 15. [कौ]टुम्बकं
[स्वा]कारप्रतिविम्बक स च कृतो लेभे सुत डोम्बकम् ॥ [१४॥]¹¹
नारीमोहनयौवन नवनवत्यागोर्मिभि × [पा]वनं
भूभर्तु × कृतसेवनं निजभुवस्सम्यक्प्रकृता -

L 16 वनम् [१]
[उहा]महिपदालयीकृतवनं युद्धोपसिद्धस्त्रन
पुत्र सोपि समाससाद भुवन शम्भौ वृद्धत्सावनम् ॥ [१५॥]¹²
गुणमणिनिक्षुरस्वरोहण प्रव -

L. 17 हणमापदगाधवारिधौ ।
कृतसुभटशिरीषिरोहण [स]मजनयत्तनयं स कल्हणम् ॥ [१६॥]¹³
[जा]लम्बराधीश्वरपादपद्मनिन्द्यभक्ति × प्रचुरात्मशक्तिः ।

L. 18. बलोत्थणी विलहणनामधेयस्तस्यात्मजो जायत सहिधेयः ॥ [१७॥]¹⁴
तनयायां सनयस्य त्रिगतभूभर्तु[र्]द्विदयचन्दस्य [१]
[स]च रामलक्ष्मणाख्यौ लक्ष -

¹ Metre, Āryā

² Metre, Śragdharā

³ Metre, Āryā The first ma of prathamama⁸ looks like sa

¹⁰ Metre of verses 12-13, Āryā

¹¹ Metre, Śārdūlavikrūḍita Mr J F Fleet reads prakā-

, apratibimbakam instead of svākāra. Read chintāndhakam

¹² Metre, Śārdūlavikrūḍita The Anuvāsa of saṅgam is indistinct Prakṛiptāvanam is meant for prakṛipta⁹.

¹³ Metre, Aparavaktra The Anuvāsa of dhīrohanan is indistinct

¹⁴ Metre, Upajāti The ma of nāmadheya looks like sa

- L. 19. णिकायां सुती लेभे ॥ [१८॥]¹⁵
 ज्येष्ठे गुणैर्गरिष्ठे विम्बीष्ठीभिस्समं द्युपुरि गोष्ठीम् ।
 अक्षितिष्ठति निहुरधी[स्तस्य]कनिष्ठोत्र सुप्रतिष्ठोभूत् ॥ [१९॥]¹⁶
 त्रिगर्तनृपतीनां या
- L. 20. पादपद्मोपजीविभिः [।]
 कन्दादि[भिरा]सन्दारिसन्दारिभिरभुज्यत ॥ [२०॥]
 परिपालितवास्तव्यस्तव्यनिर्मलकर्मणा ।
 साधुना साधुना भूमिर्लक्षणेनोपभुज्यते ॥ [२१॥]¹⁷
- L. 21. यस्य प्रेयस्यभवन्मयतज्ञे[त्य]तुलरूपभद्रमणी ।
 तस्मिन्कीरग्रामं लक्ष्मणचन्द्रेतुपालयति ॥ [२२॥]¹⁸
 सिद्धास्थवणिकपुत्रौ धर्मप्रवणाविह
- L. 22. स्थिती कृतिनी ।
 [ज्ये]ष्ठो मन्युकनामा कनिष्ठमप्याहुकं प्राहुः ॥ [२३॥]
 भवतरकुठारधारा प्रविषमतमजन्मभरुमरुक्ष[ह]री ।
 प्ररुरोह मोह -
- L. 23. [हं]त्री [मन]सि तयो[ग्र शा]भवी भक्तिः ॥ [२४॥]
 ताभ्यां शिवलिङ्गमिदं निरालयं वीक्ष्य वैद्यनाथाख्यम् [।]
 पुर्यां सङ्घितं विहितं पुरतोस्य च मण्डपो रचितः ॥ [२५॥]
- L. 24. इति मन्यु[का]हुकाभ्यासुदरे स्थित्वा पुरा किलैकत्र ।
 पुनरुदरसम्भवेशप्रतिषेधविधि[स्स] सह विहितः ॥ [२६॥]
 यद्यपि पितेव कुरुते कुरुणां
- L. 25. शशुस्तथापि पितुरधिकः [।]
 जन्मनिमित्तं हि पिता शशिमौलिरजन्मनो हेतुः ॥ [२७॥]
 शाहिलपाहिल[क]ाहिलसिद्धास्त्रलोकगामिनस्सन्तु ।
- L. 26. पूर्वं पुरुषा × क्रमशश्चत्वारो मन्यकाहुकयोः ॥ [२८॥]²⁰
 किम्बहुना[प्यु]र्यदेवा पुरुषाणामे[व] विंशतिर्यातु ।
 [सुक्ष]तेनानेन दिवं स्वयं च परमास्तु
- L. 27. गतिरनयोः ॥ [२९॥]²¹
 राजानकेन चास्मै लक्ष्मणचद्रेण वैद्यनाथाय ।
 मण्डपिकोत्पत्तिधनाह[त्ताप्य]ट्प्रत्यहं द्रव्या ॥ [३०॥]
 ग्रामाख्यलम्बना[ज्जो]
- L. 28. मात्रा राजानकस्य लक्ष्मण्या ।
 एकहलवाहनीया दत्ता भूमिर्महेशाय ॥ [३१॥]²²
 लक्ष्मणस्य सुकृतं सुकृती य × पालयिष्यति तदन्वयधर्ता ।
 तस्य पु-

¹⁵ Metre, Āryā¹⁶ Metre, Giti¹⁷ Metre of verses 20—21, Anuṣṭubh.¹⁸ Metre of verses 22—23, Āryā¹⁹ Metre, Āryā Read *mohāhantrī*²⁰ Metre of verses 25—28, Āryā²¹ Metre, Āryā Read *pyuchchhesā*, instead of the senseless *pyurydesā*²² Metre, Āryā

- L. 29. अमुपयातु विद्वद्भि' यो हरिष्यति स गच्छतु चाधः ॥ [३२॥]²²
 तैलोत्पीडनयन्तं कीरभामेस्ति मन्युकाङ्कयोः ।
 ताभ्या तदपि शिवाय
- L. 30. प्रदीपनिष्पत्तये दत्तम् ॥ [३३॥]
 एका च पश्यशाला ताभ्यां स्त्रीया शिवस्य भोगार्थम् ।
 भूमिश्च हलचतुष्टय योग्या दत्ता नवग्रामात् ॥ [३४॥]
 इति ये -
- L. 31 न येन यद्यत्सुकृत विहितं शिवं समुद्दिश्य
 इह तस्य तस्य तत्तत्तिष्ठतु यावद्वरित्रीयम् ॥ [३५॥]
 यस्याविस्मृत[ज]ननीस्तन्यसमास्त्रादनस्य वदना -
- L. 32. ऋजे ।
 परिशुद्धकवित्वफला सरस्वती भगवती न्यवसत् ॥ ३६॥
 श्रीशुद्धकस्य स सुत[×काश्ल]ीरनृपप्रमातुरनघस्य[।]²³
 प्रथमवयास्तर[लार्था] व्यधत्त राम × प्रशस्तिमिमाम् ॥ ३७॥
- L. 33 चवेदचेत्वात् हर — — — चेत्वात् वक्तव्य[दि]वाद[य]भूमि[च्छ?] ॥ ॥ गुह्येन य(?)
 यसि भदो(?)ना ॥²⁴
 ॥ शककालगताब्दाः ७[२६]

TRANSLATION OF NO. II.

Om hail ! Obeisance to Sarva !

Ver. 1.—May the elephant-faced god grant (*your*) wishes and the foe of Tāraka remove sickness, may Nandin gladden (*you*), and he (*who is*) the carrier of the trident of Mahākāla, may make may Virabhadra too, give you happiness, may all the proud servants of Śankara procure you welfare !

2. May that Mahādeva protect you, in the mirror of whose foot-nails the
 . . . , which are kissed with devotion, repeatedly reflect themselves.

3. May the lord of Bhavāni grant you happiness through those eight bodies (*of his*) viz, that which in this world is active in kindling wood, that which is active in illuminating the quarters of the world, that on which the strong-finned (*fish*) endowed with never-twinkling eyes, subsist, that on which the gods live, whose adherents are the virtuous, that which is praised as maintaining twice-born men, that which is praised as carrying the birds (*and*) that through which the deity, greedy of offerings, attains the highest growth !²⁵

4. Just this has formerly agreed to become an arrow in order to burn the towns (*of the demon*), and this body of his even that has now attained the beauty of a

²² Metre, Rāthoddhātā

²³ Metre of verses 33—37, Āryā

²⁴ Probably *prakaṣṭa utkṛāṇā* —E H

²⁵ The first three relative sentences in the first and second Pādas of verse 3 have each a double sense, and they refer to— I fire, sun and moon, II water and the sacrifice, III, the earth and air or *dāśa*, while the wind is described in the fourth relative sentence. The use of the word *paśya* in the sense of 'see' is easily explained by its meaning 'side' and 'wing'. Mr. Spte's *English Sanskrit Dictionary* is the only lexicographical work which mentions this rare meaning of *paśya*

bow"—(*reflecting*) thus repeatedly, we worship in astonishment the two feet of the conqueror of Cupid, resplendent with ashes, which (*feet*) mock, as it were, the prostrate foe of the gods²⁷

5. Though, being devoid of sense, the temple is unable to speak, it yet tells through (*this*) eulogy, (*its*) broad tongue, by whom it has been built

6. Victorious is Jayachchandra, the supreme king of Jālandhara, a store of virtues, in whose reign such dwellings of the gods have come into existence.

7. Those alone can be considered true merchants, whose wealth, lent to Śiva, in time becomes ten-million-fold, what is the use of the others (*who are but*) paltry usurers?

8 May these two men endowed with great prudence of conduct, the brothers Manyuka and Āhuka, become honourable in the guilds on account of this pious work which will be described.

9 Grateful are these two brothers who tasted together also the milk of their (*second*) mother, the faith in Śiva, of her whose breasts are tranquillity and self-conquest.²⁸

10. There is in Trigarta the pleasant village of Kīragrāma, the home of numerous virtues, where that river called Kandukābindukā, leaping from the lap of the mountain, with glittering broad waves sportively plays, thus resembling a bright maiden in the first bloom of youth (*who jumping from the lap of her nurse gracefully sports*). That (*village*) is protected by the strong-armed Rājānaka Lakshmana

11. There lived in the beginning Rājānaka Kanda, the root (*kanda*) of a peerless race that resembles a Bakula tree, (*he who was*) a destroyer of his foes, a conqueror of towns, an untamable Skanda.

12 His son Buddha, a man of pure intellect, begot an excellent son; from him²⁹ sprang he who was called Vighraha (*separation, and*) who (*accordingly*) caused the separation of the wives of his enemies (*from their beloved ones*).

13 (*Then*) Brahman, the son of Vighraha's body, became the husband of the earth, he who possessed power to punish his enemies.

14. And that happy man obtained a son (*called*) Dombaka, who reflected his (*father's*) nature, who supported by the hand those falling from high places, who worshipped Tryambaka, who kissed the *Fortuna* of his enemies, who was deeply engrossed with the care of catching (*those*) fish—his foes—who together with (*other*) princes took many villages, who was the head of a family of worthy relatives

15. He, too, obtained a son (*called*) Bhuvana, whose youth charmed women, who sanctified (*his race*) by ever-fresh streams (*of water, poured out*) on (*the occasion of*) donations, who served his king and duly protected his country, who made the forest the home of his proud foes, whose lion-roar (*sounded*) dreadful in battle, and who offered great sacrifices to Śambhu.

²⁷ The wording is rather obscure. By '*this*' seems to be meant the third eye of Śiva, the fire of which, the so called *Sārdgny* or arrow fire (see *Srikānṭhachārīta*, I, 16, V, 16, XXIV, 78) destroyed the town of the demon, Tripurārī. This eye is usually represented as bow shaped, *v* e, with corners on both sides standing in a vertical position. Regarding the feet 'which mock as it were the prostrate foe' see the frontispiece to Moore's *Hindu Pantheon*.

²⁸ The text has a pun on *rasa* 'milk' and 'sentiment' which has not been rendered in the translation.

²⁹ 'From him' refers, I believe, to Buddha. If it referred to *tanayam*, it would be necessary to assume that an unnamed son, who perhaps died in his father's lifetime, intervened between Buddha and Vighraha. The latter explanation is, of course, by no means impossible.

16 He begat a son (named) Kalhana, (who was) a mountain³⁰ of precious stones—his virtues—(and) a boat on the deep ocean of misfortune, (and) who passed over the heads of brave warriors

17. As his good and obedient son was born, he who was called Bīlhana, who showed guileless devotion to the lotus-feet of the supreme lord of Jālandhara, who possessed great power of mind and was terrible on account of his strength

18 With Lakshanikā, the daughter of Hṛdayachandra, the politic king of Trigarta, he had two sons, named Rāma and Lakshmana

19. While the elder one, most worshipful on account of his virtues, converses with the red-lipped maidens in the town of heaven, his strong-minded younger (brother) has been firmly established here

20-21. The whole territory which Kanda possessed and the other servants of the lotus-feet of the kings of Trigarta, the destroyers of the foes of Āsanda, belongs at present to holy Lakshmana, who protects the inhabitants and whose pure actions are worthy of praise.²¹

22 While that Lakshmanachandra, whose dear wife was Mayatallā—a lady of peerless beauty—protects Kiragrāma,

23. Two pious, happy sons of the merchant, named Siddha, live here, the elder one has the name Manyuka, but the younger one they call Āhuka.

24 In their hearts grew up the faith in Śambhu, which destroys delusion, which is the edge of the axe (to cut down) the tree of mundane existence (and) a storm-wave (to carry men across) the most terrible ocean of births.

25 By those two, who saw this *linga* of Śiva, called Vaidyanātha, destitute of a dwelling, has it been provided with a temple and has a *Mandapa* been erected in front of that²²

26 When Manyuka and Āhuka formerly dwelt in the same womb, they both announced their determination not to enter again into a womb, speaking thus

27 “Though Śambhu is compassionate like a father, yet he is more than a father, for a father is the immediate cause of (one’s) birth, (but) the god with the moon on his crest is the cause of the cessation of births ”

28 May Śāhila, Pāhila, Kāhila and Siddha, the four ancestors of Manyuka and Āhuka, in due order enter heaven

29 In short, may the remaining twenty men (of their family) all reach Elysium in consequence of this pious work, but may the highest state be (the reward) of these two²³

30. And daily six *drammas* of the money collected in the custom-house have been allotted by Rājānaka Lakshmanachandra to this Vaidyanātha²⁴

²⁰ *Rohana* is really the name of the mountain in Ceylon, called Adam’s Peak. The poet seems to have chosen it as the instance of a big mountain, most suitable for his purposes

²¹ These two verses, as also the next two, form a *Yugma* or *Yugalaka*. The epithet *sādhu*, ‘holy’ which Lakshmana receives, is explained by verses 21–26 of No. I

²² *Lingas*, standing in the open, are frequently found in the north of India. Thus I remember having seen three very large ones not far from Ushkar in Kashmir, which stand in the middle of the forest. If *purī* means here a temple, that is easily explained by the tower like shape of the adytum of the Indian temples

²³ The verse refers to the belief that a particularly pious deed ensures the joy of heaven to the performer as well as to ten ancestors and ten descendants. All the latter may reach this goal, but the donors themselves desire *moksha*

²⁴ The European dictionaries do not give for *mandapikā* the meaning ‘a custom house’. But its existence is proved by various passages in the inscriptions, compare, e.g., the term *mandarika* ante p. 7 and by the analogy of its modern representative *māmdāvī* which is a common term for ‘custom house’ in Marāṭhī, Gujarātī and other vernaculars

31 (*A piece of*) land to be cultivated by one plough and belonging to the village named Pralamba has been granted to (*this*) Maheśa by Lakshanā, the mother of the Rājānaka.

32 May the merit of each pious successor of Lakshmana, who protects his sacred gift, be increased, but he who may take it away, shall descend downwards

33 The oilmill, too, in Kiragrāma (*which*) belongs to Manyuka and Āhuka, has been given by them to Śiva in order to provide for the lamps (*of his temple*).³⁵

34 Moreover one shop of theirs has been presented for the enjoyment of Śiva and (*a piece of*) good land, four ploughs, situated in Navagrāma.

35 Whatever pious gift has thus been made by anybody for the sake of Śiva, may that last for his (*benefit*) as long as this earth (*exists*).

36-37. Rāma, the son of the good *pramātri*³⁶ of the king of Kaśmīr, famous Bhringaka, in whose lotus-mouth dwelt divine Sarasvatī before he forgot the taste of his mother's milk, composed in his first youth this eulogy of simple meaning

From the Chabedha-field from the Hara . . . —field, from Vaktanadeva the best land (?). [The *prastuti* was engraved] by Guhaka. The elapsed years of the Śaka era (*are*) 7[26]

XVII.—THE JAINA INSCRIPTION IN THE TEMPLE OF BAIJNATH AT KIRAGRĀMA,

By G. BUHLER, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined inscription is found in the same temple of Śiva-Vaidyanātha at Kiragrāma in Kāngrā.¹ It consists of two lines of Jaina Nāgarī letters, which run, each divided into four larger and two small sections, along three facets of the pedestal of a statue of Mahāvīra. Its preservation is almost perfect. It records the dedication of this statue by two merchants Dolhana and Ālhana, and its consecration by a Śūri, called Devabhadra. The statue, we are told, was placed in a temple of Mahāvīra, erected by the same two persons at Kiragrāma. As at present no old Jaina place of worship exists at Kiragrāma, it would appear that the base was transferred to the temple of Śiva after the destruction of its original location, and that it probably owes its preservation to the ignorance of the priests of the Vaidyanātha temple.

The donors probably were Gujarātis, not Panjābīs, and the consecrating Śūri likewise seems to have belonged to the same country. For Dolhana and Ālhana were members of the Brahmakshatra gotra or caste, which is common in Gujarāt, but according to the Census Report of 1881, not found in the Panjāb. Śūri Devabhadra is connected with Gujarāt through his teacher Abhayadeva, who is called Rudrapallīya, the *Rudrapallīan*, and is said to belong to the line of Śūri Jinavallabha. The latter is without

³⁵ The meaning is that the Tels who worked the oilmill had either in lieu of rent to furnish gratis the oil for the lamps of the temple or that the whole net income of the oilmill was to go to the temple for the purpose stated.

³⁶ I am unable to find the word in the dictionaries and to say what the office was. According to its etymological import it might to denote some kind of spiritual councillor.

See *ante*, p. 97. The present edition of the inscription has been prepared according to a very good paper impression furnished by the Panjab Archaeological Survey through the Editor.

a doubt the Jinavallabha, whom the *Pattāvali* of the Kharatara gachchha names as the 43rd *Yugapradhāna*.² He died in Vikrama Samvat 1167, after founding a new school, which in our inscription is called his *samtāna* or line. In the time of his immediate successor Jinadatta, the Rudrapalliya branch of the Kharatara gachchha was founded by Jinasekharāchārya in Vikrama Samvat 1204. It is, therefore, evident that the Devabhadra of our inscription was a teacher of the Śvetāmbaras and an adherent of one of the subdivisions of the Kharatara gachchha, which latter according to all accounts, arose at Anhilvād Pattan in Gujarāt. The date *Samvat*, i.e. Vikrama Samvat 1296, Phālguna, dark half 5, a Sunday, corresponds, according to Dr Schram's calculations, to January 15, 1240 A.D. General Sir A. Cunningham, who discovered the document, has given a transcript of it in his *Archæological Reports*, (volume V, page 183) which, however, is imperfect, as the middle portions of both lines from चवतीवी to पुद्गाम्यां व्य and from प्रतिष्ठित to सत्तानीय have been left out. This omission and some misreadings or misprints make a translation of his transcript impossible.³

TRANSCRIPT.

ओ० सवत् १२९६ वर्षे फागुण वदि ५ रवी कीरग्रामे ब्रह्मचरगोत्रीत्यन्यव० मानपुद्गाम्यां व्य०
दोल्हणभाल्हणाभ्यां स्वकारित्यीमन्महावीरदेवचैत्ये ॥⁴

श्रीमहावीरजिनमूलविव भाल्मन्त्रेयो[र्थ] कारित । प्रतिष्ठित च श्रीजिनवत्तमसूरिसंतानीयरुद्र-
पत्नीयश्रीमदभयदेवसूरिशिष्यै श्रीदेवभद्रसूरिभिः ॥⁵

TRANSLATION

Oml In the year 1296, the (civil) year,⁶ (on the) fifth (day of the) dark half (of the month of) Phālguna,⁷ on a Sunday,—the *mālābimba*⁸ of the glorious Jina Mahāvīra has been erected for their own spiritual welfare by the two merchants, Dolhana and Ālhana, the two sons of the merchant Mānū, sprung from the Brahmakshatra race, in the temple of the glorious deity Mahāvīra, erected by them at Kīragrāma. And it has been consecrated⁹ by the illustrious Sūri Devabhadra, the pupil of the illustrious Sūri Abhayadeva, the Rudrapallian, who belongs to the line of the illustrious Sūr-Jinavallabha

² See Klatt, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XI, pp. 248 and 254

³ General Cunningham recognised that it could have no connexion with the history of the temple of Śiva-Vaidyañātha

⁴ L. 1.—Read ओ, the २ and ५ of कीरग्रामे are connected and form a misshaped group, read दल, above अ a *mātra* cut by mistake, has been obliterated, possibly the correct reading is मानपुद्गाम्यां, दू and नू being absolutely undistinguishable in the alphabet of the inscription

⁵ L. 2.—The च of श्रेयोर्थ has been destroyed, the दा of सत्तानीय has been damaged

⁶ I translate वर्षे by 'in the (civil) year,' because sometimes चौकिकवर्षे appears in its stead after dates of the Vikrama era. The years of the Vikrama era are in Western and North-Western India the *lauḷika*, "common or civil" years in contradistinction to those of the Śaka era, which are *śāstrīya*, i.e., used in the works on astronomy

⁷ The form of the text फागुण is half Prakrit and half Sanskrit

⁸ I leave the expression मूलविव literally 'root image' untranslated, because I am not certain about its technical meaning. I suspect that it means 'chief image' and is intended to distinguish this statue, which stood in the adytum, from the numerous smaller ones in the bhāmṭi or the cloisters

⁹ प्रतिष्ठित च is bad Sanskrit, but common in Jaina books. The correct expression would be प्रतिष्ठा कृत्वा च or प्रतिष्ठापित च

XVIII.—ON THE PEDESTAL OF AN IMAGE OF PARŚVANATHA, IN THE KANGRA BAZAR.

BY DR. G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., O.I.E.

The following inscription in eight lines is incised on the base of image of Parśva-nātha in the porch of a small Hindu temple dedicated to Indravarman in the Kangra Bazar. It has been so smeared over with red paint and oil that some of the letters are very indistinct, and in the last line broken away.

- (L 1) ओं संवत् ३० गच्छे राजकुले सूरिभू^१ च -
 (2.) भयचंद्रमाः [१] तच्छिष्यो मलचंद्राख्य[स्त]-
 (3.) तदाभोजषट्पदः[॥] सिद्धराजस्ततः दृष्ट^२
 (4.) दृष्टादजनि [च]ष्टकः । रत्नेति गृहि[हण]ी [त
 (5.) स्व] पा — धर्म — पायिनी । [१] अनिष्टा सुती ।
 (6.) [तस्व]^३ [जैन]धर्मधरायणी^४ । ज्येष्ठः भुलण्डको
 (7.) [भ्र]ा[ता] कनिष्ठः कुमराभिधः । [१] प्रतिमयं [च]
 (8.) — — जिना — नी — — रुद्रया । कारिता — — — — — — — — — — [॥]

TRANSLATION.

Om (In) the year 30⁵

In the Rājākula *gachchha*⁶ was a Sūri (called) Abhayachandra. His pupil was named Amalachandra. A bee at the lotus of his feet (was) Siddharāja, from him (*spring*) Dhanga from Dhanga was born Chashtaka.

His wife was Ralhā From her were born two sons wholly devoted to the law, taught by the Jina. The eldest brother was called Kundalaka, the youngest was named Kumara. This effigy has been made with the permission

¹ L 1 Read •रिभू• —

² L 3 Read •तदाभोज•, — ततो दृष्टी

³ L 6 Possibly जिन, read धर्मधरायणी,—

⁴ L 7. Possibly नाम कः,—

⁵ As the characters of this inscription are ancient Sāradī, closely resembling those of the Baiyāth Prasasti, the year 30 of the Saptarshi or Laukika era, which is mentioned in our document, probably falls in the ninth century and corresponds to 854 A D

⁶ The term *gachchha* indicates that Abhayachandra belonged to the Śvetambaras? I am, however, unable to find the Rājākula in the *Pāṭāvalis* accessible to me

XIX.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM KHAJURAHO.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH D, C.I.E, GOTTINGEN

I

FRAGMENT OF A STONE INSCRIPTION [OF HARSHADEVA?]

The stone bearing this inscription appears to have been found¹ near the temple of Vāmāna, at Khajurāho, an ancient and decayed town in the Ohhatarpur State, Bundelkhand, North-Western Provinces; and it is now kept in the modern mausoleum near the temples. This is only a fragment of an apparently very large inscription. It contains 13 imperfect lines, the total height of which is 1' 1", while the length of the lines, beginning with 7" in the first line, gradually increases to 1' 3" in line 8, and decreases again to 5" in line 13. The writing is fairly well preserved. The size of the letters is 1". The characters are Nāgarī, they closely resemble those of the inscription of Yaśovarman of the year 1011 (No II below), and make it probable that the inscription is of about the same time or somewhat earlier. The language is Sanskrit, and what remains of the inscription is in verse.

Like the inscriptions of Yaśovarman and Dhāṅgadeva (Nos. II and IV below), this inscription appears to have opened with an account of the creation of the universe, and of the rise of a princely family, which I take to be the family of Chandraśreya. In line 5 it speaks of a prince, from whom were born (line 6) the famous Jejjāka and Vijjāka. In line 7, it further mentions the illustrious Harshadeva who by his own arm conquered many proud enemies. And from line 10 we learn, that by somebody or other, who may have been Harshadeva himself or his successor, the illustrious prince Kṣhītipāladeva was placed again on the throne.

Harshadeva is well known to us, from the inscriptions of Yaśovarman and Dhāṅgadeva, as the son of Rāhila and father of Yaśovarman. And Jejjāka and Vijjāka are clearly the two brothers Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti who are mentioned as the sons of Vākpati in the inscription of Yaśovarman, and of whom Vijayaśakti was the father of Rāhila and grandfather of Harshadeva. Moreover both, without doubt, are the two brothers Jeḡa and Viḡa mentioned in line 6 of the Mahoba inscription published by Dr Hultzsch in *Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morg. Ges.*, vol. XL, p 47, from the name of one of whom is derived the name of the country Jeḡabhukti, Jeḡabhuktika, or Jeḡakabhukti.

The prince Kṣhītipāladeva, Sir A. Cunningham is inclined to regard as a son of Harshadeva and elder brother of Yaśovarman, but from the way he is spoken of in the present inscription, it would appear that he was no Chandella prince at all. And I have no doubt that he really is the same Kṣhītipāladeva who in line 28 of the Siyadōṇī inscription² is mentioned as the immediate predecessor of the prince Devapāla, who was ruling (at Kanauj) in the (Vikrama) year 1005. Yaśovarman was a contemporary of Devapāla, his father Harshadeva in all probability was contemporary with Kṣhītipāladeva, and I therefore assume that the relative *yena* in line 10

¹ See *Archaeol. Survey of India*, vol. XXI, p 65. A photolithograph of this inscription was published by Sir A. Cunningham, *ib.*, vol. XXI, plate xvi, B; and an impression of it has been supplied to me by Dr Burgess.

² An edition of this inscription, which has been lately re-discovered by Dr Burgess, will be given at page 162.

of our inscription refers to Harshadeva himself, and that this prince first defeated Kshitipāladeva, but subsequently reinstalled him in the government of his dominions.³

TEXT⁴

1. [मच्छ्याच्चि]वे⁶ नमः । जगत्स[र्ग]
2. यं⁸ पात्रं किमस्मात्परं एवं यो व
3. न⁷ प्रमेयमखिलं न [वा] कल्पादौ विश्व[स]
4. धाः⁸ प्रथितप्रभावान् । चतुर्विधं भूतविकारजातं
5. ⁹[श]सकलभुवनख्यातकीर्त्तिप्रभावः पृथ्वीना[थ]
6. [ख]म् ॥ ¹⁰तस्माज्जिज्ञाकविज्ञाकावभूतां कीर्त्तिभूषणी । [सु]
7. [भु]¹¹जविजितानेकदृष्टारिहृदः । तस्मात्स्थीहर्षदेव¹² सकल
8. ¹³कातिसंवलितं । भीर्तेन्द्रनिहितधनुर्वि शशुमे पादांबु[ज]जडित[य]
9. [प]र¹⁴ । त्यक्ता स्थानमिवायात पुनर्भयनशंकितः ॥ आस्तां¹⁵ किं व(व)हु
10. : पुनर्येन श्रीक्षितिपालदेवचपतिः सिंहासने स्था¹⁰
11. ¹⁷त्सादितारातिशक्तिकीर्त्तिविभूषणं ॥ प्रस
12. [दूर]स्थैरन्तिकस्थैश्च¹⁸ ॥ सातपत्तनृ[प]¹⁹
13. [जत्व]ज — — [क्षितं]

II.

STONE INSCRIPTION OF YASOVARMAN, OF THE YEAR 1011

The stone which bears this inscription appears to have been discovered some time after A D 1843, amongst the ruins at the base of a temple, known as the temple of Lakshmanji, at Khajurāho; and it is now built into the wall inside the entrance porch of the temple at which it is said to have been found.¹ The inscription has been drawn attention to several times in the volumes of the Archaeological Survey of India, and an unfortunately very small photolithograph of it was published by Sir A Cunningham, in *Archæol Survey of India*, vol. XXI, plate xvii, but it has not been edited before²

The inscription consists of 28 lines. The writing covers a space of about 5' 8" broad by 2' 5" high. Down to line 16, and from line 22 to line 27, it is (with the

³ Wars between the Chandra and the rulers of Kanyākubja are mentioned, e.g., in verse 3 of the inscription published in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. VII, p. 359, in line 13 of the Maloba inscription referred to above, and probably in line 2 of the unpublished fragmentary inscription No. 29 of the Lucknow Museum

⁴ From the impression taken by Dr Burgess

⁵ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

⁶ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita

⁷ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

⁸ Metre, Uṣṇāḥ

⁹ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita

¹⁰ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

¹¹ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita

¹² Read तस्मात्स्थी

¹³ Metre, Āryā

¹⁴ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

¹⁵ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita

¹⁶ , c स्थित

¹⁷ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

¹⁸ Metre, Āryā

¹⁹ Metre, Rāthoddhita

¹ See *Archæol Survey of India*, vol. II, pp. 425 and 426, vol. XXI, pp. 65 and 84. [It was in 1838 (*J. A. S. Ben* vol. VIII, p. 165) called it Chaturbhuj, but it is now called Lakshmanji and the temple known as Chaturbhuj is at Jathara — Pd.]

² I have for some time been in possession of three rubbings of this inscription taken by or for Sir A Cunningham and kindly made over to me by Mr Fleet, but only the two impressions supplied to me by Dr Burgess have enabled me to edit the inscription critically

exception of a few *aksharas* which can be readily supplied) well preserved, but the middle portions of the lines 17-21, and the second half of line 28, have suffered considerably by the peeling off of the surface of the stone, so that altogether about 30 *aksharas* have either gone altogether or are, at any rate, illegible in the impressions. The size of the letters is from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{7}{8}$ " The characters, which are beautifully and carefully executed, are of the so-called *Kutīla* type,³ differing little from the ordinary Devanāgarī.³ They include the somewhat rare sign for *gha*, e.g., in *ghāṭhā* towards the end of line 8, besides, attention may be drawn to the old form of the sign for *pha*, used exceptionally in the word *phala*, at the beginning of line 6, and to the old form of the medial *e* in the last word *savitre* of the inscription.

The language is Sanskrit, and, excepting the introductory blessing and the concluding portion of line 28, the inscription is in verse. The verses, of which the total number is 49, were composed (verse 47) by the poet Mādhava, the son of the grammarian Dedda. The inscription was written by the *karamika*, or writer of legal documents, Jaddha, the son of Jayaguna(?) of the Gauda country (v. 48). The name of the engraver was given in line 28, but it is now illegible. The language of the inscription is fluent and correct, and in respect of orthography, too, there are few things that need be drawn attention to. The letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*. The dental sibilant is used for the palatal sibilant in *hasmīa*, line 13, and the palatal for the dental in *hailāśād*, line 24, and *śavdānuśāśana*, line 27. Instead of *anusiāra*, we have the dental nasal in *vanśah*, line 5, and in *hansāh*, line 15, instead of *ñcha*, *ncha* in *vanchana*, line 1, instead of *m*, *mvr* in *namvī*, line 14, and *namvra*, line 26, and instead of the conjunct *jv*, *gv* in *uyvala*, lines 3, 5, and 11, and in *prodyajvālā*, line 16. The sign for *visarga* has been omitted in *valshasthale*, line 2, *kshiptā śruvanti*, line 9, *sādhubhī stūyate*, line 19, and *rave spashta-*, line 20, where the omission is really permitted, but also, wrongly, in *īśa smita*, line 4, and *piāpti kshayāya*, line 6. The rules of euphony have not been observed in *ugrān=jagati*, line 1, and in *gam=vichintya*, line 10, *bhūmibhritām=varishthah*, line 10, and *savarunnām=vidhinā*, line 12. Lastly, *mshanna* is put wrongly for *mshanna* in line 8, and *tridiva* for *tridiva* in line 24.

The inscription is dated, in line 28, both in words and in decimal figures, 'in the year 1011,' which, as a year of the Vikrama era, corresponds to A.D. 953-54. And it records (in verses 42 and 43) the erection of a temple of Vishnu, under the name of Vaikuntha, by the prince Yaśovarman, also called Lakshavarman (verses 37 and 39) of the Chandrātīya (or Chandella) family. By way of introduction, the inscription furnishes an account of the ancestors of Yaśovarman and of his own achievements. In the family of the sage Chandratīya, who himself was a son of the sage Atri, there was, we are told, the prince Nannuka (v. 10), whose son was Vākpati (v. 12). Vākpati had two sons, Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti (v. 14), of whom the latter begat Rāhila (v. 16), whose son again was Haisha (v. 18). This prince married a lady named Kañchhukā, of the Chāhamāna tribe (v. 21), who bore to him Yaśovarman. This prince, in verse 23, is represented in a general way as having carried on successful wars against the Gaudas, Khasas, Kosalas, Kasmīras, Mithilas, Mālavas, Chedis, Kurus, and Gūjaras, and he is, in particular, stated to have defeated the king of Chedi (v. 28), and conquered the Kālāñjara mountain.

³ [See Dr. Bühler's remarks on the Devan Prasthā, ante p. 73.—Ed.]

The inscription appears to have been set up after the death of Yaśovarman; for, in verse 44, we are introduced to his son Dhanga, who, in verse 45, is represented as ruling the earth as far as Kālañjara, and as far as Bhāsvat, situated (?) on the banks of the river of Mālava, up to the banks of the river Kālindī (or Yamunā), and to the frontiers of the Chedi country; and even as far as the mountain Gopa, or Gopātri. These localities indicate, then, the extent of the Chandella kingdom during the reign of the prince Dhanga; and that kingdom, accordingly, extended from the river Yamuna in the north to the frontiers of the Chedi kingdom in the south, and from Kālañjara in the east or north-east to Gopātri, the modern Gwālior, in the north-west. Bhāsvat, judging from the way in which it is introduced, should be looked for, opposite to Kālañjara, in the west or south-west, and I would therefore identify it with Bhāilla-svāmin or Bhailasvāmin, the modern Bhilsa on the river Vetravati or Betwa, from near which was issued the grant of the Chandella Madanavarmadeva of the year 1190.⁴

Attention may here be drawn also to the interesting verse 43 of the inscription. According to it, Yaśovarman had received the image of Vaikuntha, which he set up in the temple founded by him, from Devapāla, the son of Herambapāla. Herambapāla in turn had obtained it from Sāhi, the king of Kīra, who had received it from the lord of Bhoṭa, who again had got it from the Kailāsa. Devapāla is called *haya-pati*, which may mean either 'the lord of horses', employed (like *aśva-pati*) as a title, or 'the lord of the Hayas', however this may be, there can, I believe, be no doubt that the Devapāla, here spoken of, is the same Devapāla who is mentioned as a paramount sovereign (of Kanauj) and as the successor, of Kṣhitipāladeva, in the Siyadonī inscription, with the date (Vikrama) Samvat 1005. The Kīras have, as I have stated elsewhere,⁵ by some been identified with the Kāśmīras, while in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, XIV, 29, they are separately enumerated as a people inhabiting the north-east, together with the Kāśmīras. Bhoṭa, according to Lassen,⁶ is the modern Tibet.

Finally, in the last line, the inscription appears to mention a prince Vināyaka-pāladeva, regarding whose relation to the Chandella princes I am unable at present to offer any conjecture.

TEXT⁷

L. 1. श्रीं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

दधानानेका यः किरिपुरुषसि[होभय]क्षुषं त[दा]कारोच्छेदां तनुमसुरसुखानजवरात् ।

जघान त्रीनुग्रान्ज(क्ष)गति कपिलादीनवत् वः स वैकुण्ठः कण्ठध्वनिचकितनिःशेषमुवनः ॥⁸ —[1].

पायासुर्व्व(ब्ज)लिवन्च(क्ष)नव्यतिकरे देवस्य विक्रान्तय

सद्यो विस्मितदेवदानवनुतास्तिस्रस्त्रि[लो]कीं

2

हरः ।

यासु ब्र(ब्र)ह्मवितोर्णमर्घसलिलं पादारविन्दच्युत

धत्तेद्यापि जगत्(क्ष)येकजनकः पुण्यं स मूर्ध्ना हरः ॥⁹ —[2]

⁴ See *Indian Antiquary*, vol XVI, p 202

⁵ See *ib* vol XVII, p 9

⁶ *Indische Alterthumskunde*, 2nd Ed, vol I, p 523

⁷ From impressions taken by Dr Burgess

⁸ Metro, Śikharinī

⁹ Metro, Śārdūlavikṛdita, and of the two next verses

21

3]

1]

]

देव पातु स व पयःकणभृति व्योम्नीव ताराचिते
 दैत्यासिन्नणलाच्छने¹⁰ दिविसदः सत्यज्य सर्वानपि ।
 तस्मिन्नन्धनशैलभित्तिविपुले वक्षः[*]स्थले यस्य ताः
 पेतुर्मन्दरसङ्गमभ्रमवललक्ष्मीकाटाचच्छटा ॥ —[3].
 गभीरो -

3 भु(भ्रु)धयः शयाकरचिमान्भास्त्र[त्प्र]तापोज्ज(ज्ज)ली
 धीरो धात्रि महान्महीधरवरा कल्पद्रुमाख्यागवान् ।
 आ कल्पादविकल्पनिर्गलगुणग्रामाभिरामः¹¹ प्रभुः
 सत्य ब्र(ब्रू)त यदि क्वचित्पुनरभूतुल्यो यशोवर्धनः ॥ —[4].
 प्रधानादव्यक्तादभवदविकारादिह महानहकारस्तस्मादजनि जनितोपग्रहगणः ।
 ततस्तस्मात्त्राणि प्रसव-

1 मलभन्त¹² क्र[म*]वशादथैतेभ्यो भूतान्यनु भुवनमेभ्यः प्रवहते ॥ ¹³—[5].
 इहाद्यो विद्याना कविरखिलकल्पव्युपरतौ¹⁴ परः साक्षी देवस्त्रिभुवनविनिर्माणनिपुणः ।
 स विश्वेपामीश[*] क्षितकमलकिष्कवसतिर्महिम्ना स्तेनैव प्रथममथ वेधाः प्रभुरभूत् ॥ —[6].
 तस्माद्विश्वसृज, पुराणपुरपादान्नायधान्न, कवेर्येभूवन्मु-

5 नयः पवित्रचरिता पूर्व मरीच्यादय ।
 तत्रात्रि सुपुवे निरन्तरतपस्तीव्रप्रभाव सुतं चद्रात्रेयमकृत्विमोज्ज(ज्ज)लतरज्ञानप्रदोप सुनि ॥ ¹⁵—[7]
 अस्ति स्वस्तिविधायिन, स जगता नि, शेषविद्याविदस्तस्यालोपनताखिल[श्रु]तिनिधेर्वन्श¹⁶ प्रशंसास्पदं ।
 यत्राभून्न पराक्रमेण लघुता नो चाटुकारोदतिर्नात्पायन्तरसा -

6 रता न च फलप्राप्ति[*] क्षयायात्मनः ॥ —[8]
 तस्तत्राणप्रगुणमनसा सर्वसंपत्पदानामुद्युक्ताना कृतकृतयुगाचारपुण्यस्थितोनां ।
 तत्रत्यानाममलयशसा भूभुजा का प्रशसा येषां शक्तिः सकलधरणीध्वंसने पालने वा ॥¹⁷—[9]
 तत्र चतसुवर्णसारनिकपयावा यशयन्दनक्रीडाललकृतदिक्यु -

7 रन्ध्रवदन श्रीनन्दुकोभूवृषः ।
 यस्यापूर्वपराक्रममक्रमनमन्त्रि शेषविदेषिणः सभ्रान्ताः शिरसावह्वृषतय, शेषामिवाज्ञा भयात् ॥¹⁸—[10]
 यस्यानदितवद्वदरचितस्तोत्रक्रियाप्रक्रममात्मक्रान्तस्व(स्व)ह्रुवैरिवर्गजयिनः कदर्पकल्पाकृतेः ।
 नाम क्षामतनूभृता मृगदृशा सद्यो विधत्ते पद स्वान्तेषु

8 द्विपता च राशिषु व(व)लादैकव्यमव्याहतं ॥ —[11].
 तस्मादभूदाजिपराजितारे श्रीवाक्पतिर्वाक्पतितुल्यवाचः ।
 यस्यामला भ्राम्यति भानुभाभि सहैव लोकत्रितयेपि¹⁹ कीर्तिः ॥ ²⁰—[12]
 यस्यामलोत्पलनिपन्न(एण)किरातयोषिदुह्रीततद्गुणकलध्वनिरम्यसानु ।
 क्रीडागिरि, शिखरनिर्झरवारिपातभाक्ता -

¹⁰ Read •लाञ्छने
¹¹ The *akshara* मा was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line
¹² Originally •समन्त
¹³ Metre, Śikharinī, and of the next verse
¹⁴ The two *aksharas* कल्प were originally omitted, and are engraved above the line

¹⁵ Metre, Śardulavikrīḍita, and of the next verse
¹⁶ Read •वैश्व
¹⁷ Metre, Mandākrāntā
¹⁸ Metre, Śardulavikrīḍita, and of the next verse
¹⁹ Originally •दिवयोपि
²⁰ Metre, Upajāti

9. रताण्डवितकेकिगणः स विन्ध्यः ॥ ²¹—[13]
 तस्माद्विस्मयधान्नः क्षीराव्येथन्द्रकौस्तुभी²² यद्वत् । द्वावात्मजावभूतां जयशक्तिर्विजयशक्तिश्च ॥ ²³—[14].
 तयोर्द्वयोरप्यमितप्रतापदावाग्निदग्धाहितकाननानि ।
 कर्माणि रोमांचलुषः समेताः समूर्ध्वकम्पं क्षितिपाः²⁴ स्तुवन्ति ॥ ²⁵—[15]
 तत्रानुजग्मा तनयं राहिलाख्यमजीजनत् । निद्राद -
 10. रिद्रतां यान्ति यस्मिंचिन्त्य²⁶ निशि द्विपः ॥ ²⁷—[16].
 भीमभ्राम्यदसि[सु]चि स्रवदस्रक्संपादिताज्यक्रिये
 ज्ञानिगर्धोपवपटपदे क्रमचरत्संरख(व्य)[यो]धर्त्विजि ।
 अत्रान्तः समराध्वरेप्रतिहतक्रोधानिलोद्दीपि[ते]
 [वै]रोदक्षिंयि य पशूनिव कृती मन्त्रैर्जुहाव द्विपः ॥ ²⁷—[17].
 श्रीहर्षभूपमथ भूमिभृताम्बरिष्ठः²⁸ सोऽसूत कल्पतरुकल्पमन -
 11. ल्यसत्त्व(त्तु)ः [1*]
 अथापि यस्य सुविकासियशःप्रसूनगन्धाधिवाससुरभीणि दिगन्तराणि ॥ ²⁹—[18].
 यत्र श्रीय सरस्वती च सहिते नोतिक्रमो विक्रम -
 स्तेजः सत्त्व(त्तु)गुणोज्ज्वल परिणता चान्तिथ नैसर्गिकी ।
 सन्तोषो विजिगीषुता च विनयो मानस पुण्यात्मन -
 स्तस्यानन्तगुणस्य विस्मयनिधेः किन्नाम वस्तु स्तुमः ॥ ³⁰—[19].
 भीरुर्धर्मापराधे भधुरिपु -
 12. चरणाराधने य. सतृष्णाः
 पापालापेनभिन्नो निजगुणगणनाप्रक्रमेवप्रगल्भः ।
 शून्यः पे(पै)शून्यवादेऽनृतवचनसमुच्चारणे जातिभूक
 सर्वत्रैवं स्वभावप्रथितगुणतया नाम [कः स्तु]³¹यतेसी ॥ ³²—[20].
 सौनुरूपां सुरूपाङ्गः कञ्चुकाख्यामकुण्ठधीः [1*] सवर्णास्विधिनोवाह³³ चाहमानकुलीङ्गवां ॥ ³⁴—[21]
 यस्याः पतिव्रततुलामधिरोदुमी -
 13. शा नारन्धती गुरुतरामभिमानिनीति ।
 पल्लुः समीहितविधानपरापि साध्वी कार्श्यन्तथा परमगादतिलज्जितेव ॥ ³⁵—[22]
 गौडक्रीडासलतासिस्तुलितखसव(व)लः कोशलः कोशलानां
 नय्यत्कक्षी(क्षी)रधीरः शिथिलितमिथिलः कालवन्मालवानां ।
 सीद[त्सा]वयचेदिः कुरुतरुपु मरुत्संज्वरो गूर्जराणां
 तस्मात्तस्यां स जज्ञे नृपकुल -
 14. तिलकः श्रीयशोवर्मराजः ॥ ³⁶—[23].
 स दाता राघेयः स च शुचिवचाः पांडुतनयः स शूरः पार्थोपि प्रथितमहिमानः किमपि ते ।

²¹ Metro, Vasantatilakā

²² Originally क्षीराव्ये, read क्षीराव्ये.

²³ Metro, Āryā.

²⁴ Metro, Upajāti.

²⁵ Read यं विचिन्त्य

²⁶ Metro, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

²⁷ Metro, Śārdūlavikrīḍita

²⁸ Read स्यां वरिष्ठः

²⁹ Metro, Vasantatilakā

³⁰ Metro, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

³¹ The first of these two *akṣharas* is quite illegible in the impressions

³² Metro, Bragdhara

³³ Read सवर्णा वि.

³⁴ Metro, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

³⁵ Metro, Vasantatilakā

³⁶ Metro, Bragdhara

व्यतीता कि व्रू(व्रू)मो यदि पुन[रि]ह स्युः स्वचरिते [हि]या नम्नी(न्नी)कुर्युर्वदनमवलो[क्ये]नमधुना ॥³⁷
—[24].

वस्तुवातरि तत्र भूयति नृणां क्लेशाय शस्त्रग्रहः

काम दातरि सिद्धकेलिसुमनस्तत्पाय कल्पद्रुमाः [।*]

वित्तेश. पर -

15. म(मा)र्थहृद्विविधुरस्त्रान्ती विलासी स चे -

दास्ये तस्य सतीन्दुरत्यलवनप्रीत्यै दृशामुत्सवे ॥³⁸—[25].

यस्योद्योगे व(व)लानां प्र[स]रति रजसि व्याप्त[भे]दो[न्तराले]

स्व.सिन्धुर्व्व(र्व्व)हरोधाः पिहितस्चिरभूद्भानुरादर्शरम्यः ।

स[म्य]ग्देन्दुदन्ती सुदमधित वियत्साभ्रमालीच्य हन्ताः³⁹

शोक्कण्ठास्तस्युरासीन्नयनदशशती कृणिताहत्तशत्रोः ॥⁴⁰—[26].

अन्योन्याव(व) -

16 वकीपद्विपकलहमिलहन्तदण्डाभिघात -

प्रोद्यन्वा(ज्वा)लाकलापप्रसृतहुतभुजि ज्वाघनध्वानभीमे ।

पीतास्रवी(क्वी)वरच प्रमदक[लकल]⁴¹द्वादरौ[द्रप्रहासे]

धीर भी[तिव] लक्ष्मीः समरशि[रसि] यं स[भ्रमा]दालि[लिङ्ग] ॥ —[27].

उत्तुङ्गाध्वनशैलसन्निभचलन्तद्विपेन्द्रस्थित -

क्रुध्यद्गुह्वरधन्विमार्गगणप्रारब्ध(व्य)रचाक्रियं ।

विख्यातचित्तिपालमौ -

17 लिरचनाविन्यस्तपादास्व(स्व)जं

सख्येसंख्यव(व)लं व्यजेष्ट गतभीर्यथेदिराजं हठात् ॥⁴²—[28].

लक्ष्मच्छायाकलुषवपुषः कान्तिमहूर[मि]न्दी[र]न्या[?]यत्त[स्फुरि]तविधुरा[स्त्व]न्दरं चारवि[न्दात्] ।

य[स्या?] — — ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ — — ७ — [चार्हृहृत्ते?]संभ्रान्ताभिः कथमपि सुखं वीक्ष्य वैरि-
प्रियाभिः ॥⁴³—[29].

गङ्गानिर्जर्जरघर्वध्वनिभयभ्राम्यचुरङ्गव्रजाः

सद्यःसुप्तविवु(वु)हकेस -

18. रिरवत्रस्यत्करीन्द्राकुलाः ।

यत्सेनैः प्रतिकल्पपादपमुमालूनप्रसूनोच्चयाः

प्रालेयाचलमेखलाः कथमपि [क्रा]न्ताः श[नैर्हि]गजये ॥⁴⁴—[30]

उच्च[प्रा]कारभि[त्तिस्थि]त[स]मद[शिखि]क्रूर[?] — — [निना?]द -

— — [श्य]— ७ — — अथ[रथ]तुरगप्राप्तवेगान्तरायः ।

यस्मिन्मध्यन्दिने स्यात्तरणिरनुदिनं नीलकण्ठाधिवासं

जग्राह क्रीडया यस्त्रिलकमिव भुव.

³⁷ Metre, Śikharinī

³⁸ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita

³⁹ Read हंसा

⁴⁰ Metre, Bragdhārā, and of the next verse.

⁴¹ The first akṣhara in [लकल] in the impressions looks like व

⁴² Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita

⁴³ Metre, Vandaḥkrāntā

⁴⁴ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita

19

किञ्च कालंजराद्रिं ॥ ⁴⁵—[31]

आ शस्त्रप्रवृत्त्यादखण्डितमहावीरव्रतप्रक्रियै -

रा वा(वा)स्यादविलुप्तसत्य[समयै]रा पा[यि]पीडाविधे ।

अत्रान्तार्थिवि[तीर्ण]पूर्णविभवैस्त[थेप्सिता]काञ्चि[भि] -

[द्रो]त्कर्षकधाक्तनोच[?]पुलकैर्यः साधुभि[:?]स्तूयते ॥ ⁴⁶—[32]

[नि]न्दामुपे[मि] पुरुषान्तरसङ्गमेन [शान्ति]न जातु सततभ्रमणक्रमेण ।

यस्यातिपौरुषनिरस्तमनुष्यभावे लोके स[सु] ⁴⁷-

20

[द्रगत]कीर्तिरनिन्दितैव ॥ ⁴⁸—[33]एकैवोवाह लोकेस्मिन्पुत्रजन्माव्रतं शिरः । कञ्जुका येन धीरेण देवकीव मधुद्विषा ॥ ⁴⁹—[34]

शौ[यौ]दर्यनयादिनिर्ग[लगु]णग्रामाभिरा[म यशो?]

[यस्या?]शेष[विश्व]ना[यति]लक[ज्ञा]य[न्ति सि]ह[स्त्रि]य. ।

[तस्य स्तोत्रम]मितमर्हन्[र]वि[:?]स्वष्टप्रकाशीकृत -

त्रैलोक्यस्य सहस्रसख्यमहसो दीपप्रदानोपमं ॥ ⁵⁰—[35]

क्रोधीदृत्तान्तकभ्रुकुटिल -

21

पटुरल(ण)खण्डकोदण्डयष्टि -

ज्याघातस्फारधोरध्वनिचकितमनःसम्भ्रमभ्रान्तदृष्टु ।

खण्डं नष्टेषु दूरं कचिदपि रिपुषु क्षतते[जो]स्वु(स्वु)राशे -

— य[स्त्रौ]न न व्य[रसी]द्वन[?] [वि]जयि[नखण्डदो]ईण्डक[ण्डू?]: ॥ ⁵¹—[36].[यो] लक्षव[र्म्]नृप[ति]: शरदिन्दुकान्तमाख्यातुमिच्छति यशःप्रस[र]⁵² वचोभिः ।दीपप्रभापरिचयेन विमुग्धवु[?]र्हिर्मध्यन्दिने दिवसनाथसुदीक्षतेसौ ॥ ⁵³—[37]

22

यन्नाक्रामदवक्रमानसव[र्]लिव्याजप्रयोगापत -

तृथीलंघनलब्ध[व्य]लाघवमघच्छेदी पदं वामनः ।

लोकालोकशिरःशतप्रतिहतज्योतिर्विवस्त्राव य -

तस्य क्रामति तन्निशाकर[महा?]श्रीस्त्र[र्षि]शुभ्रं यशः ॥ ⁵⁴—[38]

[धो]रो दिग्विजयेषु केलिसरसी[न्ती]व्रप्रता[पं द]ध -

त्रिशोषद्विषदव्यथोभयतटीविन्यस्तसेनाभरः ।

मल्लभसकरीन्द्रपंकिलजला श्रीलक्षवर्मा -

23

मिध -

अक्ते शक्रसमः कलिन्दतनयां जङ्गीः सुता च क्रमात् ॥ —[39]

आस्थानेषु महीमुजा मुनिजनस्थाने सतां सङ्गमे

ग्रामे पामरमणलीषु वणिजां वीथीपथे चत्तरे ।

[च]ध्वन्यध्व[गसं]कथासु [निलये]र[ण्यौ]कसा विस्मया -

⁴⁵ Metre, Bragdhara⁴⁶ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita⁴⁷ This and the following three *akṣaras* might be read नं वनति, but I believe that न has been altered to सु and ति to र, and the two *akṣaras* वन are so similar to द्रव, that they may be read either way.⁴⁸ Metre, Vasantatilakā.⁴⁹ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).⁵⁰ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita⁵¹ Metre, Bragdhara.⁵² This *akṣara* looks like क, altered to र⁵³ Metre, Vasantatilakā⁵⁴ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, and of the next two verses

त्रित्यं [तद्]णकीर्त्तनैकमुखरा सर्व्वं सर्व्वे जना' ॥ —[40].

यस्यान[नि] शरदखण्डशशिप्रसन्ने कीप व्यनक्ति हृदयस्थमरिप्रिया -

24

णा ।

सिंदूरभूषणविवर्जितमाप्यपद्मसुच्छट्टहारवलय कुचमण्डल च ॥ ¹—[41]

तेनेतच्चारु चामीकरकलसलसद्योम धाम व्यधायि

भाजिष्णु प्रांगवशध्वजपट[पटला]दीलिता[भोज]वृन्द ।

दैत्यारातेस्तुपारचितिधरशिखरम्पर्द्धि वर्द्धिष्णुरागा

दृष्टे यात्रासु यत्र तृ(त्रि)दिवसतयो विस्मयन्ते समेता ॥ ²—[42]

केलागा(सा)झोटनाय' सुहृदिति च तत. की -

25.

रराजः प्रपेदे

माहिस्तम्भाटवाप द्विपतुरगव(व)नेनानु हेरम्ब(म्ब)पाल ।

तत्सूनोर्दयपालात्तमय जयप[ति]. प्राप्य निन्ये प्रतिष्ठा

वैकुण्ठ कुण्डितारि चिति[धरति]नक श्रियशोवर्मराज ॥ —[43]

श्रीधर. स्वभुजप्रसाधितमहोनिर्वाजराज्यस्थितिस्तम्भादाम महोदधेरिव विधुः स्रुर्जनानन्दकृत् ।

युहे नम्रदरातिवर्गसुभटप्रस्तयमानस्तुतिर्नि -

26

त्वं नम्र(म्)महोपमोनिगलितसक्पूजिताघ्रिदय' ॥ ³—[44]

आकालञ्जरमा च मानवनदीतीरस्थिते' भास्वत कालिन्दोसरितस्तटादित इतोप्या चेदिदेशाव[धि.]

[आ तष्माटपि?] विस्मयेकनिन[या]क्षोपाभिधानाद्विर्यं शास्ति चि[ति]मायतोर्जितभुजव्यापारलीला-
र्जिता ॥ —[45]

यस्यागविक्रमविवेककलाविलासप्रज्ञाप्रतापविभवप्रभवचरितात् ।

चक्रे क्षतो

27.

सुमनसा मनमामकम्भादम्भादकालकलिकालविगमशका ॥ ⁴—[46]

शब्दा(ब्दा)नुशाश(स)नविदा पितृमान्त्र्यधत्त देहेन माधवकविः स इमा प्रशस्ति ।

यस्यामन [कवि]यश क्षतिन कयासु रोमाञ्चकञ्चकुप. परिकीर्त्तयन्ति ॥ —[47]

सम्कतभाषाविदुषा जय[गु?]ण[पुत्रे]ण कौतुका[स्त्रि]ता ।

रुधिराक्षरा प्रशस्ति' करणिकजसेन गौडेन ॥ ⁵—[48]

पाताङ्ग -

28

मिपति' पृथ्वी तयोधर्म्म[.]⁶ प्रवर्द्धता । नन्दन्तु गोविजन्मान[.]⁷ प्रजा प्राप्नोतु निर्वृतिम् ॥⁸
—[49]

सम्बत्सरदशमतिषु एकादशाधिकेषु सम्बत् १०११ उक्तीर्णा चेय रूपका]र

. '। श्री[विनायक?]पालदेवे' पालयति [वसु]धा वसुधानि[ध?]ग[ता]

निर्द्दं श्व[वि?]रि[भ?] ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॥ नम. सविते ॥

¹ Metre, Varantatilaka

² Metre, Sringbhara, and of the next verse

³ Metre, Sringbhara, and of the next verse

⁴ The vowel of this akshara (वि) may have been struck out

I would suggest reading: ०स्थिताद्वाभ्य

⁵ Metre, Varantatilaka, and of the next verse

⁶ Metre, Ārya

¹ These signs of *visarga* were originally omitted

² Metre, Sloka (Anudhātubhi)

³ Here from 10 to 12 aksharas are illegible in the impress

mons

⁴ Of the aksharas in these brackets only न and क appear to me to be certain

⁵ This वि was originally व

TRANSLATION

Om !

Adoration to the holy Vāsudeva !

(Verse 1.) May that Vaikuntha protect you, who, frightening the whole world with his roaring, as boar and as man-lion, slew the three chief Asuras, Kāpila and the rest, (*who were*) terrible in the world, (*and who*) possessed one body which by the boon of Brahman enjoyed freedom from fear (*and*) could be destroyed (*only*) by (*Vaikuntha*) having assumed those forms !

(2.) May the three strides of the god Hari, (*made*) when he was cheating Bali, (*and*) at once praised by the astounded gods and demons, protect the three worlds ! Even now that one father of the three worlds, Hara, bears on his head the holy water which, respectfully then offered by Brahman, fell on (*Hari's*) lotus-foot.

(3) May that god protect you, on whose famous breast, broad like the wall of the Añjana mountain, (*and*) covered with drops of water so that it appeared like the star-covered sky, (*and*) marked with scars by the swords of the Daityas, fell, withdrawn from all (*other*) inhabitants of heaven, many glances of Lakshmi, agitated with confusion at the proximity of the Mandara mountain !

(4) Deep like the oceans, pleasing like the moon, radiant with the brilliancy of the sun, firm like the Creator, great like the noblest of mountains, munificent like the trees of paradise,—tell me truly, if anywhere there has been another lord, charming with a multitude of spotless excellencies unchangeable to the end of the world, equal to Yaśovarman !⁶⁶

(5) From Nature unmanifested (*and*) changeless there proceeded here the Great One; from that was born Self-consciousness, which engendered the group of the organs (*upagraha*), from that in due order the Subtle Elements took their origin, and from them the Gross Elements, from them afterwards proceeded the World.⁶⁷

(6.) Then, when the whole world had come to an end, there was first here by his own greatness the mighty Creator, the first sage of all kinds of knowledge, the divine witness on high, skilful in creating the three worlds, that ruler over all who dwells on the filaments of the opening lotus.

(7) From that Creator of the universe, that ancient being, that sage who is the abode of sacred knowledge, sprang those early sages of holy conduct, Marīchi and the rest Atri, one of them, begat the sage Chandrātreyā, who by his ceaseless austerities acquired fierce might, (*and*) who was a flame of unfeigned intensely radiant knowledge.

(8.) The family proceeding from him, who caused the welfare of the worlds (*and*) was acquainted with every science (*and*) a receptacle of sacred lore that came to him of its own accord, is a fit object of laudation, (*a family*) where neither prowess has caused depression nor flattery elation, in which there has not been a particle even of

⁶⁶ The above gives the general meaning of the verse, I believe, correctly, but the first half of it does not admit of a proper construction

⁶⁷ Compare, *e.g.*, the *Sāṅkhya Aphorisms of Kapila*, translated by Ballantyne, 3rd Ed., p. 71, Davies, *Hindu Philosophy*, pp. 20 and 21, 35, 64. The word अणु of the text appears to denote the five organs of sense, the five organs of action, and *manas*

fecbleness, and where the attainment of the objects desired has not tended to the destruction (*of the possessor*)

(V. 9) How shall we praise the princes of spotless fame of that (*family*), whose thoughts were nobly directed towards the protection of people in distress, the possessors of every blessing who, full of energy, inasmuch as they practised the conduct of the golden age, had a meritorious existence, (*and*) who had the strength to destroy as well as to protect the whole earth?

(10) Among them there was the illustrious prince Nannuka, a touchstone to test the worth of the gold of the regal order, who playfully decorated the faces of the women of the quarters with the sandal of his fame, (*and*) of whom, inasmuch as his enemies without exception bowed down at the progress of his unprecedented valour, princes confounded, through fear, carried the command on their heads, like a garland.

(11) As he conquered many hosts of enemies (*and*) was shaped like the god of love, his name, made known by the spread of the laudations uttered by groups of delighted panegyrists, at once took its place in the minds of deer-eyed women whose bodies were emaciated (*with love of him*), while despair unobstructed forcibly took hold on crowds of antagonists

(12) From him, who in battle defeated the enemies (*and*) whose speech was like that of Vākpati, 'the lord of speech,' was born the illustrious Vākpati, whose spotless fame roams about in all the three worlds, together verily with the rays of the sun.

(13) Whose pleasure-mound (*was*) that Vindhya, the peaks of which are charming with the sweet notes of his excellencies sung by Kūṭa women seated on spotless lotuses, (*and*) on which groups of peacocks are made to dance by the bubbling noise of waterfalls rushing down from its tops

(14) As the moon and the Kaustubha (*arose*) from the ocean of milk, so were born from that home of wonder two sons, Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti

(15) Princes, when they are met together, enraptured praise with shaking of heads the deeds of both of them, by the unmeasured prowess of whom adversaries were destroyed, as woods are burnt by a blazing fire

(16) The younger of the two begat a son named Rāhila, thinking of whom the enemies enjoy little sleep at night

(17) Who never tired, at the sacrifice of battle, where the terribly wielded sword was the ladle, where the oblation of clarified butter was made with streaming blood, where the twanging of the bow-string was the exclamation *vashat*, (*and*) at which exasperated warriors marching in order were the priests, successful with his counsels (as with sacred hymns) sacrificed, like beasts, the adversaries in the fire of enmity, made to blaze up high by the wind of his unappeased anger

(18) Then that most excellent of rulers, whose vigour was aught but slight, begat the illustrious prince Harsha, who was almost like a tree of paradise, the flowers of whose widely expanding fame make the regions fragrant with the scent of their perfume even now

(19) In him (*were*) fortune and eloquence combined, statesmanship (*and*) heroism, vigour radiant with the quality of goodness and complete patience come to him by nature, contentment and a desire for victory, modesty and self-confidence Endless as are his excellencies, what is it then that we shall praise of that meritorious store of marvel?

(V. 20.) He who (*was*) afraid to offend against the law, anxious to worship the feet of (Vishnu), the enemy of Madhu, unacquainted with wicked utterances, abashed when his own excellencies were being enumerated, void of calumnious speech, (*and*) mute by birth to utter untrue words,—what person then was he, that is thus praised as in every respect endowed by nature with famous qualities?

(21.) He, of beautiful body (*and*) unblunted intellect, with due rites married a suitable (*lady*) of equal caste, named Kañchhukā, sprung from the Chāhamāna tribe.

(22.) Arundhatti, priding herself to be her superior, was nevertheless unable to measure herself with her in devotion to her husband, and it was for this reason that she, although a good wife (*and*) intent to do the behests of her husband, extremely abashed as it were, became so utterly emaciated.

(23.) She bore to him that frontal ornament of princely families, the illustrious king Yaśovarman, who was a sword to (*cut down*) the Gaudas as if they were pleasure-creepers, equalled the forces of the Khasas, (*and*) carried off the treasure of the Kośalas; before whom perished the Kaśmīrī warriors, who weakened the Mithilas, (*and*) was as it were a god of death to the Mālavas, who brought distress on the shameful Chedis, who was to the Kurus what a storm is to trees, (*and*) a scorching fire to the Gūjaras

(24.) If (Karna), that munificent son of Rādhā, and that true-speaking son of Pāndu, and (Arjuna), that heroic son of Prithā,—need we say it? if all those whose greatness is any way famous, who have passed away, were to be here again, they would, blushing at their own conduct, bend down their faces, were they to see him here now.

(25.) While *this* prince is protecting the distressed, the carrying of arms (*only*) tends to fatigue men, while *he* is granting desires, the trees of paradise (*only*) furnish beds of flowers for the amorous play of the Siddhas; the lord of riches has his mind bewildered at the growth of (*his*) real wealth, when *he* is dallying; while *his* face is a feast of the eyes, the moon causes delight (*only*) to groups of lotuses.

(26.) When the dust rose on the expeditions of his forces, the river of heaven had its current diverted midway by the embankments formed in it, the sun, having its lustre covered, was pleasant like a mirror, seeing the sky all over covered with clouds, the elephant of the lord of the gods became delighted, (*and*) the swans eagerly looked upwards, (*and*) a thousand eyes of averted enemies became closed

(27.) Him, (*who remained*) calm at the head of battle, where a fire was spreading with the masses of flames issuing forth from the strokes of the big trunks, meeting in fight, of the mutually enraged elephants, (*which was*) terrible with the deep sounds of the bow-strings, (*and*) where the laughter of demons, intoxicated with the blood drunk by them, was made awful by their mad confused shouts,—him Fortune, frightened as it were, anxiously embraced

(28.) Free from fear, he impetuously defeated in battle the Chedi king whose forces were countless, who had put down his lotus-foot on rows of diadems of famous princes, (*and*) who tried to protect himself by showers of arrows of enraged irresistible archers, standing on mighty infuriated elephants that were marching along like towering Añjana mountains.

(V. 29.) [This verse, of which a portion is more or less illegible in the original, appears to say that the wives of the enemies considered his face more beautiful even than the moon and the lotus].

(30.) At the conquest of the regions, his soldiers gradually managed to ascend the slopes of the snowy mountain, where plentiful flowers had been gathered by Umā from every tree of paradise; where the troops of horses became unmanageable with fright at the gurgling sound of the torrents of the Ganges, (and) which were crowded with (his) mighty elephants, terrified at the roaring of lions suddenly awakened from their sleep

(31.) [He easily conquered the Kālañjara mountain, the dwelling-place of Śiva, which is so high that it impedes the progress of the sun at mid-day]

(32.) By people who, since they began to handle the sword, have never ceased to observe the vow of heroism, by those who from childhood have never broken their plighted faith, by those who, till their hands began to ache, have bestowed ample wealth on suppliants, as well as by those who wish to have their desires fulfilled,—he is praised by (all) good men, enraptured at the tales of his high pre-eminence.

(33.) The people, among whom the notion of his being a human being had been banished by his manliness, certainly did absolve his fame from all blame for going to the sea, afraid as it was of incurring censure by coming in contact with other men, and of never obtaining rest if it were constantly to roam about⁶³

(34.) By (having given birth to) this steadfast (prince), Kañchhukā alone in this world carried her head erect (with pride) at the birth of a son, just as Devakī did by (giving birth to) the enemy of Madhu.

(35.) Since the wives of the Siddhas sing his fame, the ornament of all faultless rulers, (which is) charming by reason of (his) heroism, generosity, wisdom, and a multitude of other spotless qualities,—to laud him, that sun in scattering the enemies, is like illumining the thousand-rayed (sun), when it has clearly manifested the three worlds.

(36.) In battle, the impetuous massive arms of that ocean of regal splendour, engaged in conquering the earth, did not cease to itch, even though the enemies,—their sight bewildered, when their minds were frightened by the loud fearful sound of the twanging of the string of his terrible large bow, crooked like the brow of the enraged god of death and emitting a shrill sound,—had clearly disappeared, nobody knew whither.

(37.) Whoever attempts to describe in words the expansion of the fame, pleasing like the autumnal moon, of the prince Lakshavarman, that foolish-minded person looks, because he is familiar with the light of a lamp, up to the lord of the day at mid-day.

(38.) This bright fame of his, which rivals the great splendour of the moon, proceeds to regions which (even) the sun-destroying Vāmana did not reach, when he rapidly crossed over the earth on the occasion of cheating the guileless-minded Bali, (and) which the sun (even) does not reach, because its rays are impeded by the hundreds of peaks of the Lokāloka mountains.

⁶³ According to Manu, III, 158, those who undertake voyages by sea, deserve censure and should be avoided—I should have expected the particle एति to connect the two halves of the verse, and am inclined to read एतेति पौरुषम्, instead of यत्नानिपौरुषम्.

(V. 39.) Steadfast (*and*) possessed of fierce ardour, the illustrious Lakshavarman in his conquests of the regions made, equal to Indra, the daughter of Kalinda and the offspring of Jahnu,⁶⁹ one after another, his pleasure-lakes, encamping the forces of his army on either banks unmolested by any adversaries, (*and rendering*) their waters muddy by the bathing of his furious mighty elephants

(40) In the halls of princes, where sages dwell, (*and*) where good people meet, in the village, in the assemblages of the lowly, among the rows of shops of merchants, (*and*) where streets cross, where wanderers talk together on the road, (*and*) in the huts of the dwellers of the forest,—everywhere everybody constantly from astonishment is loud only in praise of *his* excellencies.

(41.) His face being serene like the full-moon in autumn, the anger dwelling in his heart is manifested (*only*) by the lotus-faces, deprived of the decoration of red-lead, and by the round breasts, stripped of their pearl-strings, of the wives of his enemies.

(42) *He* erected this charming splendid home of (Vishnu), the enemy of the Dartyas, which rivals the peaks of the mountain of snow; the golden pinnacles of which illumine the sky, (*and*) on which groups of lotuses are wafted to and fro by multitudes of banners on high poles; at the sight of which the inhabitants of heaven, met together on festivals, filled with increasing delight, are struck with wonder

(43) (*The image of*) Vaikuntha (*which*) the ornament of princes, the illustrious king Yaśovarman, who crushed his enemies, has set up (*here*),—the lord of Bhota obtained it from the Kailāsa, and from him Sāhi, the king of Kīra, received it as a token of friendship, from him afterwards Herambapāla obtained it for a force of elephants and horses, and (*Yaśovarman himself*) received it from Devapāla, the lord of horses (*Hayapati*), the son of (*Herambapāla*).

(44) As the moon (*arose*) from the great ocean, so was born to him a son, causing joy to the people, the illustrious Dhanga, who by his arms has firmly established his upright rule over the earth, whose praise is sung by champions before whom the hosts of enemies are perishing in battle, (*and*) whose two feet are constantly worshipped with garlands, fallen down from the crowns of princes who bow down (*before him*),

(45) who rules the earth, playfully acquired by the action of his long and strong arms, as far as Kālāñjara and as far as Bhāsvat, situated (?) on the banks of the river of Mālava, from here to the banks of the river Kālindī, and from here also to the frontiers of the Chedi country, and even as far as that mountain called Gopa (Gopādri) which is the unique abode of marvel,

(46) who, a source of munificence, bravery, discernment, of arts and dalliance, of intelligence, majesty and might, accomplishing his purposes, by means of such conduct, all at once created in the minds of well-disposed people the belief that the Kali-age had, out of season, come to an end.

(47) The poet Mādhava, whose father is Dedda, learned in grammar, has composed this eulogy, he whose spotless fame as a poet wise men, filled with rapture, celebrate in tales.

⁶⁹ i. e., the Yamunā and the Ganges

(V. 48) The eulogy has been eagerly written in pleasing letters by the son of Jayaguna (?), the writer of legal documents, Jaddha, the Gauda, who knows the Sanskrit language.

(49) May the ruler of the land protect the earth! May the law of the three Vedas prosper! May cows and the twice-born rejoice! May the people obtain happiness! In ten hundred years increased by eleven, the year 1011.

Engraved (*was*) this (*eulogy*) by the artizan

While the illustrious Vināyaka(?)pāladeva is protecting the earth, the earth is not taken possession of by the enemies, who have been annihilated.

Adoration to the holy Vāsudeva! Adoration to the Sun!

III.

INSCRIPTION FROM A JAINA TEMPLE OF THE YEAR 1011

This inscription¹ is carved on the left door-jamb of the temple of Jinanātha, at Khajurāho. It consists of 11 lines. The writing covers a space of about 8½" broad by 8¼" high, and is well preserved. The size of the letters is about ½". The characters are Nāgarī; in my opinion, not earlier than the thirteenth century. The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription is partly in verse and partly in prose. The verses offend against the metre, and the grammar is faulty, as regards orthography, the dental sibilant is throughout used for the palatal sibilant, and *sh* is employed instead of *kh* in *varsāsha*, for *vaśākhā*, line 10.

The inscription records a number of gifts made (probably in favour of the temple where the inscription is) by one Pāhila, whose name is spelt Pāhila, and who is described as held in honour by king Dhanga (or, possibly, Dhānga), and it is dated, in line 1, in the year 1011, and, in lines 10 and 11, on the 7th of the bright half of Vaisākha, on Somadina or Monday. Regarding the figures for the year (1011), it must be stated that the artizan, in the place of the cypher, first engraved the figure 1, which he subsequently altered to 0, but the four figures actually are 1011, and cannot possibly be read in any other way. The inscription, then, is dated in the same year as the inscription of Yaśovarman (No. II, above), and it apparently mentions the same prince Dhanga, who is spoken of in that inscription as the ruling prince. Moreover, whatever may have been said to the contrary, the date undoubtedly works out satisfactorily. For, taking the figures 1011 to denote the southern Vikrama year 1011, expired, the corresponding day is April 2, A.D. 955, which *was* a Monday, as required.² On the other hand, the characters in which the inscription is engraved are far more modern than those of the inscription of Yaśovarman; and taking the date to be correct, and the references in both inscriptions to be to the same Dhanga (the only prince of that name known to us), we must of necessity assume that the inscription, as we now have it, has, similarly to the inscription of

¹ See Cunningham's *Archaeol. Surv. of Ind.* vol II, p. 433, and vol XXI, p. 67. The inscription has been edited by Dr. Bājendralāl Mitra in the *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol XXVII, p. 279, and a photo-lithograph of it was published by Sir A. Cunningham in *Archaeol. Survey of India*, vol XXII, plate xvi, J. I now re-edit it from an impression prepared by Dr. Burgess.

² The corresponding date for the northern Vikrama year 1011, current, would be Saturday, April 23, A.D. 953, and for the northern Vikrama year 1011, expired, or southern Vikrama year 1011, current, Wednesday, April 12, A.D. 954.

Dhangadeva of the year 1059 (No IV, below), been re-engraved from a more ancient copy.³

TEXT.⁴

1. श्री^५ [॥*] संवत् १०११ समये ॥^६ निजकुलधवलोर्यं दि-
2. व्यमूर्त्तिं स्वसी(श्री)ल स(श)मदमगुणयुक्त सर्व -
- 3 सत्त्वा(त्ता)नुकंपी [१*] स्वजनजनिततोषो धांगराजिन^७
4. मान्य प्रणमति जिननाथोयं भव्यपाहिल^८ -
5. नामा ॥(॥) १ ॥ पाहिलवाटिका १ चंद्रवाटिका २
6. लघुचंद्रवाटिका ३ सं(श)करवाटिका ४ पंचाद -
7. तलवाटिका ५ आम्रवाटिका ६ ध(धं?)गवाडी ७ [॥*]
8. ^९पाहिलवंसे(शे) तु चये क्षीणे अपरवंसी(श्री) यः कीपि
9. तिष्ठति [१*] तस्य दासस्य दासीयं मम दत्तिस्त्व^{१०} पाल -
10. येत् ॥ महाराजगुरुस्त्री(श्री)वासवचंद्र[ः ॥*] वैसा(शा)ष(ख)
11. सुदि ७ सीमदिने ॥

TRANSLATION

Om !

In the year 1011.

(Line 1) He who bears the auspicious name Pāhilla, renders illustrious¹¹ his family, possesses a divine body, (and) a good disposition, is endowed with the qualities of tranquility and self-control, (and) takes compassion on all beings, is pleased by good people (and) held in honour by king Dhanga, he bows down here to the lord of the Jinās.

(5) 1, the Pāhilla garden, 2, the Ohandra garden; 3, the small Ohandra garden; 4, the Śamkara garden; 5, the Pañchātala¹² garden, 6, the mango garden; 7, the Dhanga garden-ground; (*these are my gifts*).

(8.) Whatever family there is here, when the family of Pāhilla is no more, I am the servant of its servant,—may it guard my gifts !

The Mahārāja-guru (or high-priest, is) the illustrious Vāsava chandra.

On the 7th day of the light half of (*the month*) Vaiśākha, on a Monday.

³ This, too, appears formerly to have been the opinion of Sir A. Cunningham, see *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* vol. XXXII, p. 274. In *Archaeol. Survey of India*, vol. XXI, p. 67, the same scholar has taken the true date to be "Samvat 1111, or A.D. 1054, in which year *Vaiśākha su d.* 7 did fall on Monday, the 18th April." In reality, however, *Vaiśākha su d.* 7, in A.D. 1054, fell on Sunday, April 17.

⁴ From the impression taken by Dr Burgess.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Metre, Māhul, but the second half offends against the metre. I propose to read the whole verse thus विजकुलधवलोर्यं दिव्यमूर्त्तिं स्वसीलं समदमगुणयुक्तं सर्वसत्त्वानुकम्पीः सुजनजनिततोषो धंगराजिन मान्य प्रणमति जिननाथ भव्यपाहिलनामा ॥

⁷ The *akṣhara* च looks as if it had been altered to क्ष.

⁸ The metre requires पाहिल, and so the name is written in the inscription No VIII, below.

⁹ Metre, Śloka (Anuakṣubh), but the first half offends against the metre, and does not admit of a proper construction. I would suggest reading पाहिलवंसे तु क्षीणे वंशी यः कीपि तिष्ठति.

¹⁰ Originally दत्तिस्त्व, read दत्तोस्त्व.

¹¹ The word वरुण 'white' is used in the sense of 'rendering white' (or bright, or famous).

¹² I do not understand this word.

IV.

STONE INSCRIPTION OF DHANGADEVA OF THE YEAR 1059, RENEWED BY
JAYAVARMADEVA IN THE YEAR 1173

The stone which bears this inscription was discovered in February 1838 by Captain T S Burt, of the Bengal Engineers, at a temple of Khajurâho, and it is now built into the wall on the right side of the entrance of the temple of Viśvanâtha, at the same place¹ I am now able to publish an improved version of the text, from two excellent impressions taken by Dr. Burgess.

The inscription consists of 34 lines. The writing covers a space of about 5' 2" broad by 2' 10" high, and, except that a crack, which runs through the stone from top to bottom, has rendered one or two *akṣaras* illegible, it is well preserved throughout. The size of the letters is from $\frac{3}{4}$ " to 1". The characters are Nāgarī, they are not formed very carefully, and it is therefore occasionally difficult to distinguish between the signs for *dha* and *va*, those for *ta*, *na* and *la*, those for *cha* and *ra*, those for *ya* and *sa*, and those for *rgga* and *rmma*. The language is Sanskrit, and, excepting the introductory blessing, and the two dates in lines 32-33 and at the end of line 34, the inscription is in verse. From a grammatical point of view, I need only state that in line 34 we find the wrong form *prolikhat*, for *prodalikhat*. As regards orthography, *ḍ* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, the dental sibilant is 43 times put for the palatal sibilant (e g., in *sikhari*, line 1, *sukla* and *śisutve*, line 3, *vamsa*, lines 7, 21, 27 and 30, &c) and the palatal sibilant 12 times for the dental sibilant (e g., in *praśamśā*, line 8, *śamlochitāh*, line 9, *śrajah*, line 10, &c), for *ḡv* we have *gv* in *ujvala*, lines 5, 10, 15, 24, and 31, and for the lingual or palatal nasal the dental nasal in *hīranmayam*, line 4, *kṣhunna*, line 20, *svachchhan=cha*, line 16, and in *dhyāyan=japan jāhnavi-*, line 29. Besides, the sign for *visarga* has been wrongly omitted in *varṇna svarṇna-*, line 15, and the rules of euphony have been neglected in *nīhkrīyāya*, line 1, and *vahḥkṛita*, line 14, and in *ripoh chchhettā*, line 22.

The inscription may be divided into two parts, the first of which ends with the words *prasastiḥ siddhā* in line 33, while the second part comprises the remaining portion, to the end. This concluding portion merely records that the (preceding part of the) inscription (which may be supposed to have become damaged or illegible) was caused to be (re-)written in clear letters by the illustrious prince Jayavarmadeva, and that, as we now actually have it on the stone, the inscription was written by the Kāyastha Jayapāla, of the Gauda country, and the date of this renewal of the inscription is (in line 34) stated to be "the year 1173, the 3rd day of the bright half of (the month) Vaiśākha, on Śukra or Friday," a date on which I shall have to comment below.

¹ This inscription was first edited, most carelessly, from impressions taken by Captain Burt, and with an English translation by Mr J C C Sutherland, in the *Jour Beng As Soc* vol VIII, pp 159 184 (Conf also Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol III, pp 782 787). Subsequently, the text of the inscription has been re-edited by myself, in the *Nachrichten d Königl Ges d Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1886, pp 441-462, from an indifferent rubbing made by or for Sir A Cunningham, and handed over to me by Mr Fleet, and a small photolithograph of it was published by Sir A Cunningham, in the *Archaeol Survey of India*, vol XXI, plate xviii. In his plate it is wrongly described as the 'Inscription of Gaṇḍa Deva.' The name Gaṇḍa occurs nowhere in this inscription. In 1887, Mr Fleet made over to me several very fair rubbings of the inscription, which would have enabled me to correct some of the readings in my previous edition of the text.

The contents of the first part of the inscription (or of the original inscription which was renewed under Jayavarmadeva) may be shortly stated to be as follows.—

After the introductory blessing "Om, adoration to Śiva," the poet praises Śiva (Rudra, Dīgambara, Śūladhara, Maheśvara), Bhārati, the goddess of eloquence, and Gaṇeśa, and expresses his devotion to other great poets (verses 1-6). Verse 7 describes how the mundane egg came into existence. From the two halves of it Brahman made heaven and earth, while from his own mind he created Marichi and other sages (v. 8). The most distinguished among these was Atri, from whose eye sprang the moon, and whose son was the sage Chandrātreyā, the progenitor of the distinguished race called after him, which will rule the earth as long as the moon lasts (vv. 9-12). After having expressed his admiration of the former great kings of the Chandrātreyā family (v. 13), the poet goes on to relate how in the course of time there came in this race a prince named Nannuka (v. 14), whose prowess reminded the gods of Arjuna (v. 15). He had a son, Vākpati (v. 16), who by his wisdom and valour excelled the mythical kings Prithu and Kakutstha (v. 17). His son was Vijaya (v. 18), whose fame was sung by semi-divine beings (v. 19), and who, after having subdued the neighbouring countries, like Rāma, on his warlike expeditions reached even the southernmost point of India (v. 20). He had a son, Rāhila (v. 21), who favoured his friends and punished his enemies (vv. 22-23), and whose son, again, was Harsha (v. 24), a king who protected the whole earth and subdued his adversaries (vv. 25-28). Harsha's wife Kañchhukā (vv. 29-30) bore to him a son, named Yaśovarmadeva (v. 31), who, pious and munificent (vv. 32-33), reduced other kings to the state of dependency (v. 34), filled the whole earth with his renown and with the fame of his excellencies (vv. 35-36), and firmly established his rule (v. 37). He caused a large tank to be dug (v. 38), and erected a magnificent temple for (Vishnu) Vaikunṭha, which, to judge from the wording of verse 39, was near the temple at which the present inscription was put up, and which clearly is the temple the erection of which is recorded in the inscription of Yaśovarman himself (No. II, above). Yaśovarman's wife, Puppā (vv. 40-41), bore to him a son, Dhanga (v. 42), who is compared with Vishnu-Krishna (vv. 43-44). He was so powerful that the rulers of Kośala, Kratha, Sindhala (Ceylon), and Kuntala humbly listened to his commands (v. 45), and so successful in his wars that the wives of the kings of Kāñchi, Andhra, Rādhā and Anga lingered in his prisons (v. 46). In short, Dhanga's fame spread to the furthestmost borders of the inhabited globe, and even beyond (v. 47).

I may state here at once that the list of princes of the Chandrātreyā (or Chandel) family, contained in the preceding, closely agrees with the list known to us from the inscription of Yaśovarman, the only differences being, that the present inscription calls Vijayaśakti simply Vijaya and omits his elder brother Jayaśakti, and that it tells us the name of Yaśovarman's queen. A comparison of the two inscriptions clearly shows that the author of the present inscription had the inscription of Yaśovarman before him; and, desirous of making the prince Dhanga, with whom he is more particularly concerned, appear even more illustrious than Yaśovarman, he does not hesitate to cover the former with the most fulsome praise which, from an historical point of view, is of no value whatever.

The proper object of the inscription is, to record that Dhanga erected a magnificent temple for the god Śambhu (Śiva), with two *lingas*, one of emerald and the other

of stone (vv. 49-51). He also distributed great quantities of gold (v 52), and established, in connection with the temple, dwellings for pious Brāhmans to whom donations were made of land, grain, money, and cows (vv. 53-54).

The inscription was put up after the death of Dhanga, for verse 55 relates that, when Dhanga had ruled the whole earth over which he alone held sway, and had lived rather more than a hundred years, he abandoned the body in the waters of the Ganges and the Yamunā and entered into beatitude, closing the eyes, fixing his thoughts on Rudra and muttering holy prayers

This eulogy of the prince was completed, when the illustrious priest of the royal household Yaśodhara was directing the administration of justice (v 56). It was composed by the poet Rāma, the son of Balabhadra, and grandson of the poet Nandana who was of the Sāvāra (or Śāvāra) family and a resident of Tarkārīkā (vv 57-58) written by the Kāyastha Yaśahpāla (v 59), and engraved by Simha (v 62) The temple erected by Dhanga for (Śiva) Pramathanātha was built by the architect Chhichchha (v. 60) May it last for ever! (v. 61)

Yaśodhara, who is mentioned in the preceding paragraph, is almost certainly the *Bhatta* Yaśodhara, who figures as donee in the Bengal Asiatic Society's copper-plate grant of Dhangadeva,² of the (Vikrama) year 1055, and the same grant also mentions the place Tarkārīkā

The original inscription, in lines 32-33, ends with the words "The year 1059 (which as a year of the Vikrama era, corresponds to A D 1001-2), at the glorious Kharijāravāhaka, in the realm of the illustrious king Dhangadeva, the eulogy of the glorious divine Marakatesvara (i.e., the emerald-lord, either Śiva whose emerald *linga* has been mentioned before, or the temple dedicated to him) is completed" The date shows that Dhanga died between the Vikrama years 1055, the date of the Bengal Asiatic Society's copper-plate grant mentioned above, and 1059. Kharijāravāhaka clearly is the older name of Khajurāho, where the inscription has been found, and where it is still. It is strange that the inscription should contain no allusion whatever to the successor of Dhangadeva

The date of the renewal of the document, with which the inscription now ends does not work out altogether satisfactorily As mentioned above, the data for calculation are the (Vikrama) year 1173, the 3rd day of the bright half of Vaiśākha, Śukra or Friday. Vaiśākha śu-di 3 of the northern Vikrama year (beginning with the month Chaitra) 1173, *current*, corresponds to March 30, A D 1115, which was a *Tuesday*, and the same day of the northern Vikrama year 1173, *expired*, or the southern Vikrama year (beginning with the month Kārttika) 1173, *current*, corresponds to April 17, A D 1116, which was a *Monday* In the southern Vikrama year 1173, *expired*, the third *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśākha, calculated by Prof Jacob's Tables, began 2 h. 16 m after mean sunrise of Friday, April 6, A D. 1117, and ended 2 h. 29 m after mean sunrise of Saturday, April 7. I entertain little doubt that Friday, April 6, A D 1117, is really the day intended by the inscription, although according to the civil reckoning that day was the 2nd of the bright half of Vaiśākha, but, in the absence of additional details regarding the date, I am unable to speak more positively in this matter

² Edited by me in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol XVI, p 201

TEXT.¹.

L. 1.

श्री नमः शिवाय ॥

विष्टपविकटवटानामजायमानाय वीजभूताय । रुद्राय नमः पालनविलयकृते निःक्रियायापि² ॥³—[1].

तूष्णीं घूर्णन्ति यत्र गोत्रसि(शि)खरिव्यूहः समूहः पत -

त्यत्यावर्त्तितमूर्त्तिरार्त्तविरुतं कुर्वन्ककुप्कुम्भिनाम् ।

सतांभोध्यवधिप्रधूतवसुधाव(व)न्धः कव(व)[न्धी]कृत -

स्व -

2. [गर्ग]दिः 'अयकांडतांडवविधिः शैवः शिवायास्तु वः ॥⁴—[2].

कस्वं हारि दिगंव(व)रः क्षपणकः कस्मादकस्मादहो

वा(वा)ले शूलधरो धिगायुधविधिं व(व)र्हास्वदर्हा नतु ।

मां जानीहि महेश्वरं स्फुटमिदं वक्ष्येभवावादिति

प्रेयस्या परिहासतो विहसितं शंभोः शुभायास्तु वः ॥—[3]

पशुपतिवदनच्छद्मनि कृतवसतिः पद्मसद्मनि स -

3. दा या । जयति विलक्षणरूपा सु(शु)क्लाभा भारती भ्रमरी ॥⁵—[4].

गिरिशशिरसि यच्छृङ्खलमिन्दोः कलायां सुङ्करमलमृणालीप्रासगृध्रुः शिसु(शु)खे ।

जयति विधुतमूर्द्ध्नीमाललीलांशु(शु)जेन क्षितकुपितमृडानीताडितो नागवक्त्रः ॥⁶—[5].

निजीपद्मप्रभाप्रसरपरिविस्फारसुकुरे पदार्थानां सार्थः प्रतिफलति

4.

येषामवितथः ।

गिरां ग्रामी येषामधरमधिगते स्वयमयं नमस्तेभ्यः सन्नयस्त्रिलोकितजगद्गयः किमपरम् ॥⁷—[6].

कल्पादौ किल केवलं खमखिलं ध्वांतावनष्टं भुवं

शून्यं वीक्ष्य सिञ्चती जगदभूज[द्रा]दसुद्रीनिलः ।

तत्राभूदनलीनलाज्जलमभूद्बीजादमीघाज्जले

ज्वालामालि हिरण्य(स्म)यं महदभूदं विभोर्वै(र्ग)द्वाणः ॥⁸—[7].

तदंडभांडखंडाभ्यां

5.

द्यां भुवं विदधे धिया ।

व्र(व्र)ज्जा व्र(व्र)ज्जनिधीन् पुत्रान् मरीच्य[व]सुखान्मुनीन् ॥⁹—[8].

मध्ये तेषां प्रहृततमसां मानसानां सुनीनां श्रीमानन्निः प्रथितमहिमा नेत्रपात्रे प्रसूतम् ।

यस्य ष्योतिःपटलजटिलं मंडलं वन्द्यमिन्दोश्चद्रात्रेयः समजनि सुनिस्तस्व पुत्रः पवित्रः ॥¹⁰—[9].

कूरापास्तसमस्तसंश्रयविपर्यासप्रकामोव(व्य)ल -

ज्जानालीकविलो -

¹ From impressions taken by Dr Burgess.

² Read निजि³.

³ Metre, Āryā.

⁴ The *akekara* रर्ग, in the original, looks like गर्ग

⁵ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next verse.

Metre, Āryā.

⁷ Metre, Mālinī.

⁸ Metre, Śikharipī. This verse has been omitted in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng* vol VIII, p 168

⁹ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹⁰ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

¹¹ Metre, Mandākrāntā.

- 6 किताखिलजगत्सर्मापवर्णस्थितेः ।
 सर्व्वप्रतिमस्य त[स्य] कतिनः कारुष्यपुष्पात्मनः ।¹²
 पारं गंतुमनन्तदीपमहसः को वा महिम्नां क्षमः ॥ ¹³—[10]
 नीरंभो निर[घो]¹⁴निसर्गसरलः सारी[त्त]राभ्यन्तरो निर्गमेयिः पृथुलापभागसुभगः पर्व्वसखर्व्वस्थितिः ।
 आमलं फलितोप्यसेवितविपत्क्रूरारिदावाम्निना न क्षानिं गमितस्ततः समभवहंभोयम -
 7. त्वहुतः ॥ —[11].
 आचंद्रं चंद्रात्रेयवंश(श)जाः क्षितिभुजः क्षितिम् । भीष्मन्यक्षतदोहं डचंडिमानोत्रितेजसा ॥ ¹⁵—[12].
 ये पूर्व्वेन पविलितक्षितितलाः सत्कर्म्मस[र्मा]¹⁶प्रियाः ।
 प्राणप्रार्थनयाप्यखिन्नमनसः¹⁷ पर्याप्तसत्यव्रताः ।
 निःसिंदूरितदुर्व्विनीतव(व)लवन्ता(त्सा)मन्तसीमन्तिनी -
 सीमान्ताः¹⁸ पृथिवीभुजो विजयिनस्तेभ्योखिलेभ्यो नमः ॥ ¹⁹—[13].
 8. कालेनेह महावंशे प्रशंशा(सा)प्रांशुरशुमान् । सुक्तामणिरिव श्रीमान्भुजोभीष्मक्षीपतिः ॥ ²⁰—[14].
 तेन विक्रमधनेन धन्विना क्रामता युधि वधाय विहिषाम् ।
 धुन्वता धनुरधिज्यमर्जुनं स्मारिता दिवि विमानगामिनः ॥ ²¹—[15].
 तस्मादुदारकीर्त्तंरजनि जनानंदसुंदरः श्रीमान् ।
 तनयो विनयनिधानं वाक्यतिरिव वाक्यतिः क्षितिपः ॥ ²²—[16].
 विद्यावदा -
 9. तद्वदयेन हृदि प्रजानामातंकशंकुमकलंकितविक्रमेण ।
 तेनापनीय नयनिर्मललोचनेन शं(स)कीचिताः पृथुककुस्य(त्स्व)कथायेकथाः ॥ ²³—[17].
 तस्य क्षातिलकस्य लोकतिलकः पृथ्वीपतेर्भूपतिः
 स श्रीमाम्बिजयो जयाय जगतां जप्ते क्षतज्ञः सुतः ।
 यस्सोदात्तमतेः प्रसूतिसमये घाम्नां
 10. महिम्नां निधेः
 सानंदं सुरसुंदरीभिरवनी क्षिताः सलाजाः अ(क्ष)वः ॥ ²⁴—[18].
 क्षिप्ररीभिरधिक्षिधरं सखीराकलय्य भुजयास्य भूभुजः ।
 काकलीकलमगीयत स्फुरन्नीयसुत्पलकसुज्व(ज्व)लं ययः ॥ ²⁵—[19].
 विनयनतसुमित्रापत्यसंवाहितांजिः प्रवरहरिचमूभिः क्रान्तपर्यन्तभूमिः ।
 सुहृदुपकृति -

¹² This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

¹³ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, and of the next verse

¹⁴ I am doubtful about this *akṣhara*, in the original, it looks like वा or न

¹⁵ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh) The editor in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol VIII, gives only part of this verse, and adds the note (p 177) 'The rest of this sloka is wanting.'

¹⁶ This *akṣhara* again, in the original, is rather न् than र्ण

¹⁷ The *akṣhara* न् had originally been omitted, and is engraved below the line.

¹⁸ Read *क्षीमन्ता*, and compare, e.g., *Vāsavadattā*, p 127 and p. 247

¹⁹ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

²⁰ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

²¹ Metre, Rathodhātā.

²² Metre, Āryā.

²³ Metre, Vasantatilakā.

²⁴ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

²⁵ Metre, Rathodhātā.

11. दक्षी दक्षिणाशां जिगीषुः पुनरधित पयोधैर्व(र्ष)श्वधैधुयमर्यः²⁶ ॥²⁷—[20].
 तस्मान्नृपतिसमुद्रादुदपादि नरैर्द्रचंद्रमाः सतुः ।
 स श्रीराष्ट्रिलनामा विहृततमा²⁸ वंदिता[भ्यु]दयः ॥²⁹—[21].
 प्रसन्ने तत्र भूपाले प्रसरश्चित्रभानवः । ना[य]वन्तोर्धिना वा[सा]³⁰ सरोये द्विपदालयाः ॥³¹—[22].
 कौशपानमसिधा(वा)रयोपि -
- 12 तां नाभिभूतजनरत्नसंपदां ।
 पक्षपातमिषुदुष्टभूतः प्रापुरस्य न सुहृत्सभासदः ॥³²—[23].
 तस्मात्तीव्रप्रतापव्यलनकवलितोत्तालभूपालतूला -
 [श्रू]लाच्छीलद्रुमाणामनणुगुणगणालंकृतः कीर्त्तिभर्तुः ।
 स श्रीहर्षोरिहर्षज्वरहरणमणिः स्त्रीणनिःशेषदोषः
 सन्तोषाय प्रजानामज -
13. नि निजभुजाग्रान्तविभ्रान्तकीर्त्तिः ॥³³—[24].
 यं दृष्ट्वैव क्षपाणपाणिमकृतव्यापारभा[रं] युधि
 क्रोधाक्रान्तविलोचनी(नो)त्पलदलभ्रभंगभीमाननम् ।
 उत्साहो हृदयाहतुः करतला[ङ्गा]वी³⁴ सुखात्कीर्त्तयो
 दिग्भ्यः साध्वसवेपमानवपुषां नष्टाः परेषां क्रमात् ॥³⁵—[25].
 तेनाच्युतेन भीमेन व(व)लेन कृतवर्ग -
- 14 णा । समुद्रपरिखा पृथ्वी पुरी स(शू)रेण रक्षिता ॥³⁶—[26].
 अपक्षधात्रीधररक्षणक्षमः सदैव दोषाकरभंगभंगुरः ।
 "वह्नि.कृतकुरभुजगसगमस्तिरस्करोति अ स तूर्णमर्णवम् ॥³⁷—[27]
 दूरा[पा]³⁸स्तप्रवरतरुगैर्दूरसुक्तातपवैर्दूरायातैः सपदि शिरसा [शा]सनं धारयन्निः ।
 तस्य द्वारि द्विरदमदनिःस्यदपंका³⁹—
- 15 कितायां सिधा(वा)हेतोः प्रणतिपरमैराशि(चि)तं भूमिपालैः ॥⁴⁰—[28].

²⁶ 'Desirous of conquering the southern region, the lord again brought the ocean to the wretched state of captivity, i.e. he built a bridge between the continent and Ceylon, as Rāma had done before him. The adjectives of the preceding lines of course refer to the prince as well as to Rāma. See my note 116 in *Indian Antiquary*, vol XV, p 42, and for the play on the word सुमिद or सुमिमा, e.g., *Vāsavadattā*, p 30.

²⁷ Metro, Mālinī

²⁸ Originally विहृततमा, altered to विहृततमा

²⁹ Metro, Āryā

³⁰ The *akshara* in brackets, in the original is स; but there appears to be a mark above it, which may be intended to change it to सा. 'When this prince was pleased, the dwellings of supplicants, who in him had a supporter, were covered with bright splendour, but when he was angry, fire spread over the habitations of his enemies, who in him found their master.'

³¹ Metro, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

³² Metro, Itihodhātā. 'Swords were protected by scabbards, and courtizane drank from drinking cups, but he did not guard the treasure, consisting in jewels, of the people subdued by him, arrows lost their feathers, and wicked princes felt his partiality, but not his friends and counsellors.'

³³ Metro, Bragdhārā

³⁴ The *akshara* वा is a mere guess, on the stone it is entirely gone.

³⁵ Metro, Śārdūlavikrānta.

³⁶ Metro, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

³⁷ Read रहिष्यत.

³⁸ Metro, Vamśanātha.

³⁹ This *akshara*, पा, is almost entirely gone.

⁴⁰ Read निस्यद.

⁴¹ Metro, Mandākrāntā.

हृत्तोष्य(ज्ज)ला गुणाधारा महाघां हृदयंगमा । हारावलीव तस्यासीत्कङ्कुकेति प्रियोत्तमा । (॥)^{४५}—[29].
वर्ण[ः*] स्वर्णरुचिर्विलोचनयुगं नीलं सचंद्रोपलं^{४६}

पाणिः शो[ण]मणियुतिः सचरणी दन्तच्छदो विद्रुमः ।

सदाःसु(श)क्तिविमुक्तमौक्तिकतल -

16. स्वच्छ[न्व(श्च) चे]ती यतः

स्त्रीरत्नं भुवनैकभूषणमभूत्तेनेयमेका सती ॥^{४७}—[30].

तस्यास्तस्य स्मरणविहिताघौघविध्वंसनायाः सत्तीर्यायास्त्रिदशसरितः शान्तनीः पुष्पकीर्त्तिः ।

धर्माधारः पितरि सुतरां साधुरिहप्रभावी भीष्मो प(य)हत्समजनि सुतः श्रीयशोवर्मदेवः ॥^{४८}—[31].

तस्य विप्रचरणप्रणामजं

17. श्रेयसे शिरसिजन्मितं रजः ।

अप्यकालपलिताकृति दधत्संदधावधिककामनीयक ॥^{४९}—[32].

एकस्मै याचमानाय द्विजाय पलदः शिविः । यावदर्यिजनं प्रादात्कीटिं कीटिमसौ नृपः ॥^{५०}—[33].

नंतुं भूमिलितालिकेन सदसि व्यस्तासवे(नि)नासितुं

गतुं पत्रपुरःसरेण चरणैः स्यातुं च नोचैचि -

18 रम् ।

वक्तु जीव जयादिशेति नियमं कर्तुं विनीतात्मना

तस्मिन्नाजति(नि) राजकेन जयिनि त्रासादिदं सि(शि)चितं ॥^{५१}—[34].

नित्यो(त्थो)दितेंदुभुजगाधिपधाम नित्यमानदि कुंदकुसुमं गगनांगणं च ।

तेनाद्भुतं हयमिदं यशशा(सा) व्यधायि धा[त्री]तलं शि(सि)तसुधाधवलत्वचित्रम्^{५२} ॥^{५३}—[35].

सभवति

19 भुवि मनुष्यः सप्ताकूपारपारदृश्यापि । न पुनरिह तस्य नृपतेर्गुणसागरपारगः कश्चित् ॥^{५४}—[36].

गांधारीं भजता प्रहृष्टशकुनिस्खानप्रियां प्रेयसीं

भीष्मद्वीपवचांस्यकर्णसुखदान्याकर्णस्य^{५५} संमूर्च्छता ।

^{४५} Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

^{४६} Read सचंद्रोपल—'her pair of eyes was a lotus illuminated by the moon'

^{४७} This *akṣhara*, in the original, appears to be चि, altered to च

^{४८} Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

^{४९} Metre, Māṇḍākrāntā—'The son of Śāntanu was the illustrious and learned Bhishma, who was born to him by the holy river-goddess, Gaṅgā'—Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, vol IV, p 20.

^{५०} Metre, Rathoddhātā

^{५१} Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)—'Śivi gave to one *davya* (i.e., a bird), that asked him, a *pala* (i.e., a portion of his own flesh), that prince gave to every supplicant *davya* (i.e., twice-born) ten millions of *palas* (i.e., pieces of gold)'—See M. Williams, *Dictionary*, s v शिवि

^{५२} Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita

^{५३} The stone originally had *सुधाव(१)धवलत्वचित्रम्, but the *akṣhara* following upon सुधा has certainly been struck out, and the same appears to be the case with the two signs for *anusvāra*—'Eternal is (the ocean), the home of the again and again rising moon and of the chief of serpents, pleasing is the (white) jasmine-flower and the court of heaven. He in a wonderful manner brought about both these things by his fame (which is imperishable and bright), the whole earth is bright with the whiteness of white mortar (filled as it is with his bright fame)'

^{५४} Metre, Vasantatilakā.

^{५५} Metre, Āryā.

^{५६} Originally *सुधादा*, altered to *सुधदा*

[नो]⁴⁴ धर्मप्रभवं विरोधितवता प्राप्यापि वंशचयं
[सं]प्राप्ता धृतराष्ट्रता [स]सुख -

20.

दा विद्वेषित्यनुतम् ⁴⁵—[37].

कष्टात्पृष्टिसहस्रसु⁴⁶भिरसुसुख्य खातः कत -

स्तत्पौत्रप्रसुखैः पुनस्त्रिभिरसावभोभिरापूरितः ।

इत्तानां सगरस्य सागरविधावाकर्ण्य तूष्णीं सुधीः

अर्धावानधिकं व्यधत्त जलधैर्वै(र्वै)स्वं तडागार्णवम् ॥ —[38]

तस्मिन् सा(शा)रदेन्दुसुति[ख]⁴⁷रसि(शि)खरसुख(एण)नक्ष[त्र]⁴⁸चक्रा -

क्ष[क्रं रक्ष]वसु -

21.

ष्मादपय(न)यति रथं सारथिः समसतेः ।

यत्कुंभः सा(शा)तकुम्भसुहिनगिरिसि(शि)रक्षुस्वि(स्वि)वि(वि)ष्वा(ष्वा)कृतकं

कुर्वन्नास्ते समस्तसुतमसुररिपोर्वै(श्म) वैकुण्ठमूर्तेः ॥⁴⁹—[39].

महावंस(श)समुत्पन्ना प्रसन्ना [धारि]तावनी । नर्मदेवामवहेवी पुष्पा⁵⁰ तस्य महीपतेः ॥⁵¹—[40].

सदानसूया विहितागसेष्यसावरंधती

22.

जीवितमप्युपासिता ।

व(व)भौ मदान्वाग्दमयन्त्यनिन्दिता मदालसाभूष पुनः कथंचन ॥⁵²—[41].

सा देवी नरदेवाद्देवाधिपतेः स(श)चीव सच्चरित्रं(तं) ।

तस्मादसुत पूतं जयंतमिव [धं]⁵³गमंगभुवम् ॥⁵⁴—[42].

⁴⁴ This is a mere conjecture, the original has त or स, altered to some *akshara* or other which is not clear in the impressions, the first *akshara*, सं, of the following line also is indistinct—Dhṛitarāshṭra, the nephew of Bhīshma and father of the Kauravas, had for his wife Gāndhārī, the sister of Śakuni, Yudhishṭhira, the eldest of the Pāndavas, was the son of Dharma, Drona was the teacher of the Kauravas and Pāndavas, and Karna an ally of the Kauravas. I therefore should translate the verse, in the first instance, as follows—'Having for his beloved Gāndhārī, who was fond of the voice of the joyful Śakuni,—stupefied when he heard the speech, which gave no pleasure to his ear, of Bhīshma and Drona,—not hostile to the son of Dharma, even when he saw his own race destroyed by him,—(the prince) who was (both) a good friend (and) an enemy, came to be Dhṛitarāshṭra.' This wonder is explained when we take the last line to mean, that the prince, surrounded by good friends and free from enemies, firmly established his government, and then understood the preceding lines to say, that he had for his wife a Gāndhārī princess (?) who was fond of the song of merry birds,—that he was stupefied when he heard the ominous creak of ravens, which did not please his ears,—and that he did not act contrary to law, even when the existence of his family was at stake.

⁴⁵ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṇḍita, and of the next verse

⁴⁶ Originally •सुनि•, altered to •सुख•.—Compare Mouier Williams, *Dictionary*, under सगर and भगीरथ

⁴⁷ Originally सु, altered to ख

⁴⁸ Perhaps this *akshara* is engraved below the line

⁴⁹ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṇḍita.—If the verse, as given above, is correct,—and I do not see how it could be read differently,—it is badly constructed, mainly, because in the second line we expect the relative यस्मात्, instead of the demonstrative एतस्मात्. The meaning of the verse I take to be 'He erected this dwelling, praised by all, of Vāikunṭha, the enemy of the Asuras from which the chariot of the sun, to save the wheels, turns away his chariot, because with its sharp spires, shining like the autumnal moon, it pierces the Zodiac, and the golden dome of which always causes it to be taken for the sun, kissing with its orb the peaks of the mountain of snow'—Compare verse 50, below

⁵⁰ On the best of my impressions this word is quite distinct, and I take it to be the name of the queen, who in this verse is compared with the river Narmadā. Compare *Amarakośa*, नर्मदा सीमोद्भवा.

⁵¹ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

⁵² Metre, Vāṣṭanṭha.—Indirectly the princess is compared with Anasūyā, Arundhatī, Damayantī, and Mādānā. Compare the similar verse 28 above

⁵³ This *akshara*, in all the impressions, is rather द than ध; but see below.

⁵⁴ Metre, Āryā

यशोदानन्द[भाक्च]क्रे पूतनामा रणक्रियां । जातो वृष्णि कुले कं स रिपोः च्छेत्ता⁶⁵ नरोत्तमः ॥⁶⁶—[43]
तस्मात्[त्स⁶⁷ -

23 सुखि⁶⁸]तक्रीधानृसिंहाब्जखलाविनः । हिरण्यकशिपुप्राणत्राण चक्रे न केनचित् ॥ —[44]
देवालीकय कोशलेश्वरमितस्तूर्णं समाकर्ण्यता -

मादेश⁶⁹ क्रयनाय सिंहलपते नत्वा व(व)हिः स्वीयताम् ।
त्व वि[ज्ञा]पय कुतलेन्द्र वदने दत्तोत्तरीयाचलम् ॥⁶⁹
तस्यास्थानगतस्य⁶⁹

24. वेत्तिभिरिति व्यक्तं समुक्त वचः ॥⁷⁰—[45].
का त्वं काचीनृपतिवनिता का⁷¹ त्वमधाधिपस्त्री का त्वं राढापरिवृढवधूः का त्वमंगेन्द्रपत्नी [।*]
इत्यालापा. समरजयिनी यस्य वैरिप्रियाणा कारागारे सजलनयनेन्दोवराणां व(व)भूवुः ॥⁷²—[46].
का त्व कस्य किमर्थमत्र भवती प्राप्ता शशाकीन्व(ज्ज)ला
सिद्धा.

25 कीर्त्तिरह वु(वु)धैकसुहृद् श्रीधंगपृथ्वीपतेः ।
भ्रात्वा विस्व(श्च)मशेषमागतवती स्फारीभवत्कौतुका
लोकालीकमहामहीध्रसि(शि)खरश्रेणिश्रियं वीक्षितुं ॥⁷³—[47].
मरकतमय तुगं लिंगं यदर्चितमैश्वरं त्रिदशपतिना तस्माल्लब्धं(त्वं) प्रसाद्य किरीटिना ।
तदवनितल तेनानीतं युधिष्ठिरपूजितं जयति

26 जगति श्रीधगेन प्रणम्य निवेसि(शि)तं ॥⁷⁴—[48]
वेस्म(श्म)न्यस्म(श्म)मयस्तेन भूपालेन प्रतिष्ठितः । द्वितीयो द्योतते देवः क्लेशपास(श)हरो हरः ॥⁷⁵—[49].
तेनाय स(श)रदभ्रसु(शु)भ्रसि(शि)खरः श्रीधंगपृथ्वीभुजा
प्राशा(सा)दस्त्रिदशप्रभोर्भगवतः स(श)भो, ससुत्तमितः ।
यस्याभ्रकपकालघीतकलसप्रान्तस्खलत्स्रं(त्स्रं)दनो
मेरोः स्र(श्रे) -

27. गमतुगमेव मनुते चिद्रीयमाणोरुणः ॥⁷⁶—[50].
भक्त्या भवस्य नूनं शिखिस(श)रीरेषु कृतसमावेशः ।

⁶⁵ Read रिपोन्देसा — 'Worshipping Vishnu (the joy of Yasodā), the pure-named one engaged in battle, born, an object of joy, in a fierce race, that destroyer of enemies was the best of men (Kṛishna).—who, worshipping Yasodā and Nanda, brought about the destruction of (the fiend) Pātāṇā, and who, born in the Vṛishnu race, annihilated the enemy Kamaś'—Compare, e g, *Vāsavadattā*, p 12 and p 150

⁶⁶ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh), and of the next verse

⁶⁷ About the *akṣaras* in these brackets I am very doubtful. In the impressions, the first of them looks somewhat like त्सा, i e, स्त्री, the second like स, and the third like शि, but the third *akṣara* appears certainly to have been altered, and probably also the first. हिरण्यकशिपु also means 'gold and food and clothing,' compare, e g, *Vāsavadattā*, p 11, and *Damayanti-kathā*, p 22

⁶⁸ Read •चल

⁶⁹ Originally तस्य स्या

⁷⁰ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita

⁷¹ Originally क

⁷² Metre, Mandākrāntā.

⁷³ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita

⁷⁴ Metre, Harinī

⁷⁵ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh) प्रतिष्ठित is here, as elsewhere, used in the sense of प्रतिष्ठापित

⁷⁶ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita Compare verse 39, above

स्यमेव विश्वकर्मा तीरणरचनामिमां चक्रे ॥⁷⁷—[51].

जयति विकटो [व]⁷⁸ टोयं हाटककोटोरनेन तुलयित्वा ।

अतुलेन तुलापुरुषाः स(श)तसो(शो) विन्नाणितास्तेन ॥ —[52].

पट्कर्मा[भि]रता⁷⁹ रताः परहिते संसु(शु)द्वंस(श)द्वया-

28. : प्रारब्धा(ब्धा)ध्वरधूमधूमवपुषीप्येकान्ततो निर्मलाः ।

तेनैते धनधान्यधेनुवसुधादानेन संमानिताः

सौधेषु स्फटिकाद्रिकूटविकटेष्वारोपिता ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाः ॥⁸¹—[53]

ब्र(ब्र)ह्मसु ब्र(ब्र)ह्मकल्पेषु येवेकत्र निवासिषु । दक्षिणेन तुपागट्टिं कल्पग्रामोपरोभवत् ॥⁸²—[54].

रक्षित्वा चित्तिमनु(नु)रासि(शि)रस(श)नामेतामनन्यायति

29. जीवित्वा स(श)रदां स(श)तं समधिकं श्रीधंगपृथ्वीपतिः ।

रुद्रं मुद्रितलोचनः स हृदये ध्यायन्ज(ञ्ज)पन्⁸² जाह्नवी -

कालिन्धीः सलिले कलेवरपरित्यागादगात्रिर्वृत्तिं ॥⁸³—[55].

धर्माधिकारमनुसा(शा)सति सा(शा)स्त्रतोत्र मिले सतां स्फुरितधामनि धर्मबु(बु)[द्धौ] ।

श्रीमद्यशोधरपुरोधसि वेधसोव सिद्धिं जगाम जगतीपतिकीर्त्तिरेषा ॥⁸⁴—[56].

तात्कारिकः प्र -

30. वरसावरवस(श)जन्मा श्रीनंदनः कविरभूत्कविचक्रवर्त्ती ।

तस्यात्मजः समजनि श्रुतपारदृष्ट्वा श्रीमांस्तपोधिकव(व)लो व(व)लभद्रनामा ॥ —[57]

सुतः सुततगोगिरींद्रमहिमा भ[द्रस्य] तस्याभवद्गूपांलेर्भुवि पूजितांश्चिरनघः साहित्यरत्नाकरः ।

श्रीरामो रमणीयशू(सु)क्तिरचनाचातुर्यधुर्यः कृती तेनेयं विहिता प्रशस्तिर[चना]

31. भ[क्त्या]लये शलिनः ॥⁸⁵—[58].

न संकीर्णं वर्णाः क्वचिदिह न सापत्न्यकलुषाः स्थिताः कायस्येन प्रथितकुलश्रीलीज्व(ज्व)लधिया ।

यशःपालेनायं विदितपदविद्येन लिखित. प्रशस्तेर्विन्धाश(स)ः कृतयुगसमाचारश(स)दृशः ॥⁸⁶—[59]

विज्ञानविश्वकर्मा धर्माधारेण सूत्रधारेण ।

ष्कि(क्षि)ष्का[भि]धेन विदधे प्राशा(सा)दः⁸⁷ प्रमथनायस्य ॥⁸⁸—[60]

यावत्पृथ्वी स -

32. पृथ्वीधरनगरनगा दत्तमुद्रा समुद्रे -

र्यावद्वाजिष्णुवृष्णद्युतिरयममृतस्यदनः शीतरक्षि(श्मि)ः ।

⁷⁷ Metro, Āryā, and of the next verse

⁷⁸ In the original, this *akṣara* looks more like व

⁷⁹ Originally रता रताः

⁸⁰ Metro, Śārdūlavikṛīḍita The six occupations of Brāhmins are अध्ययन, अध्यापन, यजन, याजन, दान and प्रतिग्रह, i.e. study, teaching, offering sacrifices, conducting them for others, giving and accepting gifts. The palaces, high like the peaks of the Kailāsa, which the king erected for certain holy Brāhmins, are the same buildings which elsewhere are called *brāhmapurī*, see *Indian Antiquary*, vol XV, p 44, note 130

⁸¹ Metro, Śloka (Anuśṭubh).—North of the Himālaya is the country of eternal beatitude, here the Brāhmins selected by the king had found south of the Himālaya a place where all their wishes were fulfilled

⁸² Read पञ्चाङ्गौ

⁸³ Metro, Śārdūlavikṛīḍita

⁸⁴ Metro, Vasantatilakā, and of the next verse.

⁸⁵ Metro, Śārdūlavikṛīḍita

⁸⁶ Metro Śikharinī

⁸⁷ Originally प्रशाद

⁸⁸ Metro, Āryā

यावद्(इ)आंभंडस्थितिरियमथवा स्यात्तुतां स्याणवीयः

प्राशा(सा)दस्तावदेय व्रजतु नरपतेईत्तकैलासहासः ॥⁶⁰—[61].

लिपि[त्रा]नवि[धि*]ज्ञेन प्राज्ञेन गुणसा(शा)लिना ।

सिद्धेनेय समुत्कीर्णा सद्गुणा रूपसा(शा)लि[नी]⁶⁰ ॥⁶¹—[62].

संवत्(त) १०५९⁶² श्रीखल्म -

33. रवा[ह]के⁶³राजश्री[धं]⁶⁴गदेवराज्ये देवश्रीमरकतेश्वरस्य प्रस(श)स्तिः सिद्धा ॥

उत्प्लातीक्षमहीभूतो मसृणिता मत्तद्विपतां⁶⁵ पदै -

र्द्धिताः सगरसगभ[गु]ररिपुत्रस्यप्रियाश्रूत्करैः ।

दिग्भिर्त्तीर्ज्यवर्मदेवनृपति. कीर्त्यचरैर्योलिख -

तेनालेखि पुन प्रशस्तिरमलैरेपाचरै. क्षाभुजा ॥⁶⁶—[63].

विद्वद्भिर्त्तीयपालसा(शी) -

34. तकिरणोमून्यादरादंदितो

गीडः प्रोक्षिखदचराणि⁶⁷ कुसुदाकाराणि सपर्यत्कर ।

कायस्यो जयवर्मदेवनृपतेरीशस्य वि(वि)[भ्र]क्ललाः

साहित्यांशु(वु)धिवं(वं)धुरुद्धततमी रुन्धननिंद्ययुति.⁶⁸ ॥ —[64].

संवत् ११७३ वैसा(शा)ख शुदि ३ शुक्ले ॥

V

STONE INSCRIPTION OF KOKKALA, OF THE YEAR 1058.

The slab which bears this inscription is said to have been found about fifty years ago at the temple of Vaidyanātha, at Khajurāho, and is now built into the side wall of the entrance porch of the temple of Viśvanātha at the same place. The inscription has been mentioned several times in the volumes of the Archaeological Survey of India, and a photo-lithograph of it, which, though useless for editing, shows well the style

⁶⁰ Metre, Sragdhara

⁶¹ This *akshara* might be read न or त

⁶² Metre. Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

⁶³ This figure is quite distinct, and it is neither 1019 nor 1056

⁶⁴ In the two impressions supplied to me by Dr Burgess, the two *aksharas* न and के are quite distinct, and the consonant of the *akshara* standing between the two is ह, but this ह appears to have been preceded by the sign for e (not i) which, so far as I can make out, has been struck out again

⁶⁵ This *akshara* can on y be read य or व, and the following *akshara* is quite clearly व

⁶⁶ Read •दिपागं

⁶⁷ Metre, Śārdulavikrīḍita, and of the next verse 'The prince Jayavarṇadeva who with the letters of his fame inscribed the walls of the regions, the mountain like great princes of which had been uprooted (by him, and which had been) smoothed by the steps of (his) furious elephants, (and) washed with the streams of the tears of the trembling wives of (his) enemies, perishing when they met (him) in battle,—this prince has written again this eulogy with clear letters',—i.e., the prince Jayavarṇadeva caused the inscription, which may be supposed to have become damaged or illegible, to be re-engraved

⁶⁸ श्रीखल्मत् wrongly for श्रीदक्षिणत्

⁶⁹ In Cunningham's *Archaeol. Survey of India*, vol. XXI, p. 68, it is stated that the inscription had originally been written in irregular (*kirna*) letters, and that it was re-written in letters of the *kumuda* form, or in 'lotus like or beautiful characters'. My text and translation of the preceding verse show that the inscription does not contain the word *kirna* at all, nor does the present verse say anything about *kumuda* characters. For the verse simply says, that Jayapāla, the Ganda, the Kāyastha, of the ruling prince Jayavarṇadeva, honoured by the learned, acquainted with the various arts, and familiar with poetry, &c., with his hands moving forward wrote these letters, as the moon, resting on the body of Śiva, containing digits, and the friend of the ocean, &c., with her spreading rays, touches the lotus flowers

of the letters and the general state of preservation of this record, is given by Sir A. Cunningham in *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XXI, plate xix.¹

The inscription consists of 22 lines. The writing covers a space of about 3' 8" broad by 2' 2" high. Down to line 14, it is on the whole well preserved. From line 15 to 21, on the proper right side, a large piece of the surface of the stone has gone, causing the complete loss of about 80 *akṣharas*; and a few *akṣharas* have gone in other places, as will appear from my transcript of the text. The size of the letters is from $\frac{3}{4}$ " to $\frac{7}{8}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and, except for the introductory *Oṃ namaḥ Śivāya*, the words *kim vahundā* in line 8, and the date at the end, the inscription is in verse. As regards orthography, *ṽ* has throughout been denoted by the sign for *v*; the palatal sibilant has been employed for the dental sibilant in *vikaṣat* and *bhāṣvat*, line 1, *saṃkalpa*, line 3, and *ajāṣraṃ*, line 17; and the dental for the palatal sibilant in *sayyā*, line 17, and *vahuserutam*, line 21; the dental nasal for the lingual or palatal nasal in *jīrna*, line 8, *īdrikṣheṇa*, line 15, and *kānohana*, line 19; *y* for *j* in *spṛāryat*, line 1, and *jaṭāyātam*, line 5; the conjunct *jṽ* for *jjv* in *milajodlā*, line 1, and *ujvala*, lines 10 and 22. Besides, a consonant has been doubled before *y* or *r* in *proddyat*, line 1, *rājya*, line 15, *chittra*, lines 7 and 9, *vichittra*, line 17, *pāṭtre*, line 16, and *yattra*, line 21. And regarding the language and style in general, I may add that the inscription is in every way inferior to the two other large Khajurāho inscriptions, and that some of its verses do not admit of a proper construction. The inscription does not record the name of the composer, nor the names of the writer and engraver.

The inscription is dated, in line 22, on the full-moon day of the month Kārttika of the year 1058 (expressed by decimal figures only), which, as a year of the Vikrama era, corresponds to A.D. 1000-1001. And it records, in lines 19-21, the erection of a temple in honour of (Śiva) Vaidyanātha and of a set of buildings for pious Brāhmanas, by one Kokkala or Kokkalla, the younger brother of Sekkala or Sekkalla, both of whom were sons of Jayadeva, the son of Māhaṭa, who again was the son of Yaśobala or Atiyaśobala, of the Grahapati family. These personages would appear to have been small chiefs or nobles dwelling at Khajurāho, and all the inscription says about them, is that Kokkala founded a town, and that Yaśobala was settled at the town of Padmāvati.² Other members of the same family or clan are mentioned in the following inscriptions. So much will be clear from a perusal of this inscription that the Kokkala or Kokkalla, mentioned here, has nothing to do with Kokalla, the Chedi ruler of Tripurī.

TEXT.¹

L 1. ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ १ स्वर्यं(र्ज)त्पा(त्स्वा)रफणाकलायविकय(स)होमस्तटाभासुरं ।³ भास्व(स्व) -
नारतराति(ति)रेकविलसच्चन्द्राश्चि(चि)क्रीकृतं । प्रोद्यतोऽविलोचनानलमिलन्वा(ज्वा)लावलीपिङ्गलं ।
वन्दे सुन्द -

¹ I have for some time been in possession of several rubbings of this inscription, prepared by or for Sir A. Cunningham, which were made over to me by Mr. Fleet. I now edit it from an excellent impression taken by Dr. Burgess.

² The town of Padmāvati, which is the scene of Bhavabhūti's *Mālaticādhava*, is identified by Sir A. Cunningham with the modern Narvār, see his *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol II, p 307; and Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar's edition of the *Mālaticādhava*, notes, p 5.

³ From the impressions taken by Dr. Burgess.

⁴ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, and of the two next verses.

⁵ The sign of punctuation is superfluous, here and in other places below which it is unnecessary to point out separately.

- 2 रवेद्यनाथविधृत वन्द्य(न्य) जटामण्डलं ॥ यस्य प्रेतवनं⁴ निवासभवन ॥ भूतैः प्रभुत्वं भृशं । भूतिर्भूषणम-
ङ्गरागरचना प्रीतिर्युगान्त(न्त) प्रति ॥(1)कण्ठे तिष्ठति कालकूटमश्विषीधेव तश्व.
- 3 त्वस्मित⁵ । सर्वध्या(व्या)वि(धि)हरश्चराचरधर पायात्स व शङ्करः ॥ य वेदान्तविदो वदन्ति मनस [ः*]
श(म)कल्पभूत शिव । ब्र(ब्र)ह्मैक परमत्तर तमजरं त(?) चामर तद्विद⁶ । अन्ये तत्त्वममेव⁷ बु(बु)द्धममलं त्व -
- 4 न्ये जिन वामन ॥ तस्मै सर्वमयैक्यकारणपते.(?) स(श)'र्वाय नित्य नमः ॥ ⁸माहेन्द्रीपेन्द्रौद्रज्वरवि-
पममहादुष्टकष्टाभिभूता । भूतैः प्रत्यग्रभूतैः प्रतिदिनमुदितैर्यातुधानैर्गृही -
- 5 ताः । घृष्टागुष्ठप्रकीष्टप्रकटितपटिमाटा(टो)पकुष्ठप्रदुष्टा । दृष्टा नश्यन्त्यनिष्टा[. *]⁹ स्फुटविकटज-
टायू(जू)टमेते त्वदीय ॥ ¹⁰आसीदप्रतिमा विमानभवनैराभूषिता भूतले लोकानामधिपेन भू -
- 6 मिपतिना पद्मोत्पलवशेन या ॥(1)केनापीह निव(वे)शिता क्षतयुगवेतान्तरे श्रूयते सत्त्वा(च्छा)स्ते पठि-
ता पुरा[ण*]पटुभि पद्मावती प्रीचते ॥ मौक्षीक्षुपतङ्गलंघनपथप्रोत्तुङ्गमालाकुला शुभा -
- 7 भ्रकपपाण्डुगेचिशिखरप्राकारचिन्ताम्ब(स्व)रा ॥(1) प्रालेयाम(च)लशृगसन्नि(नि)भशुभप्रासादसद्भाव-
तो भव्यापूर्वमभूदपूर्वरचना या नाम पद्मावती ॥ त्वङ्गत्तुङ्गतुङ्गमोहमसु(ख)रचोदाद्रजः प्रो -
- 8 [द्व]त यस्या जीर्न(र्ण)कठोरवभु(स्त्व?)मकरोत्कूमोदराभ नभ ॥(1) मत्तानेककरालकुम्भिकरटप्रोत्कृष्ट-
च्छा[द्व]त[यु]क्त कर्दममुद्रया चितितलं ता ब्रू(ब्रू)त कि सस्तुमः ॥ कि [व(व)द्व]ना । तस्या¹¹ ग्रहपतिवशस्त-
व(व)क -
- 9 — — ¹²घटूषितो जातः [1*] कोटिगुणोन्नतनमितः प्रथितोतिवशोव(व)लः श्रीमां(मा)न् ॥ ¹³यश्चाभव-
न्निजभुजार्जितचिन्तकीर्तिरुत्तमिता[स]कुलमूलतरुप्रकाण्ड [1*] भ्रूभगकामुककटाक्षशराभिधातमा[त्त]प्र-
- 10 — ७ परिपातितशबुदण्डः ॥ यः शुभ्रविभ्रमशशाङ्कप्रतानकान्युल्ल(ज्ज)लोललजलप्रव(व)लास्तड-
तगान् ॥(1)देवालयानपि हिम(मा)चले(ल)शृङ्गतुङ्गाद्यक्रो श[तक्र]तुल्यतो स यशोव(व)लास्य -
- 11 [. ॥ तस्म]ादभूदभिमताखिलव(व)भुवर्गो दुर्गतृ(त्रि)वर्ग(र्ग)फलनिर्मललब्ध(व्व)सौख्यः ॥(1)सत्कीर्त्ति-
कीर्त्तनक[या]परिगद्यमान[माहात्म्य]मोदितजनः किल [मा]हृष्टा[स्य] ॥ तस्यात्मज¹⁴ स्वजनसर्वजनात्-
- 12 — ७ शङ्कापमानपरिमार्जनसज्जकार्यः ॥(1) ¹⁵मर्यादमुद्रुतगभीरिम[या]धि(वि)तुल्यै — — ७ —
[गु]रुगभीर ७ — ७ [रा]शि श्रीमानभूत्सुकृतहज्जयदे[वना]मा ॥ कान्त्या¹⁶ शीतकरात्समी -
- 13 [हित*] फलावाप्तौ च कल्पद्रुमादालोको दिवसाधिपादिव ततो जज्ञे सुतः सेकल[1*] विद्वानप्र-
तिमप्रतापतरणिः ख्यातः सतामग्रणी[. *] मत्त्व्यागपराक्रमैकवसतिर्मानो धनैरन्वि[तः ॥ *]¹⁷
- 14 [स*]दीर्खादलघ्व¹⁸ प्रथितपृथुककुप्रा(प्प्रा)न्तविश्रान्तकीर्त्तिं स्थागे¹⁹ कण्ठोपस(मा)न कटुकपटव-
चोभापणे चाप्रग[ल्भ].[1*] [स]द्यः सौजन्यजन्यप्रकटित[महिमारा]तिवर्गस्य दुर्गः श्रीमानु -
- 15 — ७ [व?]र्गो ७ ७ ७ ७ हित — — ७ — [सि?]० क्लोभूत् ॥ ²⁰उद्यद्द्वोरगभीरराज्यजलधेः पारे
समुत्तारि[तमोदृजेन(ण)?] महीभुजा निजतनु [यं प्रा?]प्य पोतं पर । श्रीसेकलमत्तुप्र[कु]लप्र -

⁴ Originally वने

⁵ These three *aksharas* and the word शिव at the end of the preceding line are quite clear in the impressions, but they give no sense. One expects something like शिवो य शिव

⁶ These *aksharas*, too, are quite distinct, I would suggest त शिवमेव

⁷ This correction is not absolutely necessary, because the word is spelt both शर्व and सर्व, and the verse evidently contains a play on the word सर्व

⁸ Metre, Sragdhara

⁹ This sign of *varga* is not absolutely necessary

¹⁰ Metre, Śārdulavikrādita, and of the two next verses

¹¹ Metre, Ārya

¹² This *akshara* looks like ये

¹³ Metre, Vasantatilaka, and of the next three verses

¹⁴ This verse contains five Padas instead of four

¹⁵ The *aksharas* actually given here are quite clear, but

I am unable to make out any connected sense

¹⁶ Metre, Śārdulavikrādita

¹⁷ The *aksharas* within these brackets are entirely gone

¹⁸ Metre, Sragdhara

¹⁹ Read = कीर्त्तिन्यागे

²⁰ Of this *akshara* only the upper portion is visible

²¹ Metre, Śārdulavikrādita

16. ॐ — — — ॐ — — ॐ — — — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ रुचिरं किं तत्र वस्तु मृतमः ॥²² त-
स्यानुजोपि [सौ]दर्यमर्या[दी]दर्यकार्यवान् । यौवनेप्यार्यचरितः श्रीकोकलेति विद्युतः । (॥) यः²³ सत्पात्रे ददा-
17. — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — — ॐ — — ॐ — ॐ — — — नमन्न वरवमनशतान्यश्वस(श)-
व्यासनानि । च्छ(छ)क्षोपानद्विचिन्नासनभवनमहाधान्यदानान्यजयं(स्त्रं) स श्रीमान्कोकला[स्थो]भवद्विह
कुमरः²⁴ की -
18 ॐ — [म्]र्मकर्म ॥ प्रशस्तसम²⁵ — ॐ — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — ॐ तं महाईगुरुतोरणं गिम्बरिगुह-
तुहालयं । विचित्रमतिभूषणोच्छ्रितलसन्महागोपुरं पुरन्दरपुरप्रभं पुरमचीकरत्कोकलः ॥ ते²⁶ -
19. नायं तुहिनाचलामलमहाकूटाग्र[का?] — ॐ ॐ — — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — द्वि(द्वि)गहनोत्तारा-
र्थिना कारितः । यस्यात्युच्छ्रितकान्ध(ध्व)नाण्डकलस[म्मा]र्त्तण्डचण्डप्रभासपर्कादभवद्वितानममलं श्रीवैद्यना-
यप्र -
20. भोः[॥*] [य]स्य²⁷ हा[रि]तिवस्तुप्रततमिव दिवो द्वारमुग्रि — ॐ — — — ॐ — [क्तं] गगन इव
समुद्गीय ग[च्छ]द्वि[भाति] । य[न्म]न्ये वैद्यनाथो यदभिनवभवद्रामसंस्थापितोतस्तस्यार्थे पुष्पकं तद्वहित-
मिव
21. ॐ — स्त्रीरणीभूय भाति ॥ यच्च²⁸ वेदविदुषां द्विजमनां साहि — ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ — क्रम । पद्भुकर्मसु
रतं व(व)द्भु(यु)त तेन हृन्दमनघं निवेशितं ॥ ²⁹उद्दामात्मविवेकसेकजनितत्रेयोऽलसत्पद्मवा शश्व -
22. — ॐ ॐ पोषितद्विजगणा सदृत्तपुष्पोज्ज(ज्ज)ला । यथेलाविपुलालवान्वलयत्सत्कीर्तिवन्मो मञ्जी
[भृ]ह्णानधिरुद्ध मण्डपमिव ब्र(व्र)ह्माण्डमारोहति ॥ संवत् १०५८ कार्तिक्या श्रीकोकलेन[॥*]

TRANSLATION.

Om !

Adoration to Śiva !

(Line 1.) I adore the adorable coil of matted hair carried by the beautiful Vaidyanātha, (*which is*) irradiated by the expanding terrible hoods of a multitude of hissing broad serpents;²² marked with the half-moon which is excessively shining, more brilliantly than the sun; (*and*) yellowish, when in contact with the line of flames of the fire issuing forth from his tremulous eye

(2) May that Śamkara who takes away all disease (*and*) supports the movable and immovable, protect you!—he, whose dwelling-place is the cemetery, who holds mighty sway over goblins, who applies ashes to his body to decorate it, who delights in the destruction of the world, (*and*) on whose neck there is a deadly poison,—(*but*) who, although thus inauspicious, remains the auspicious (Śiva) !

(3) Adoration be always to that Śarva, who causes all (*gods*) to be comprehended in (*his*) one (*person*) !—he, whom those acquainted with the end of the Veda call Śiva, the desire of the mind, while people of true knowledge call him the one supreme

²² Metre Śloka (Anushtubh)²³ Metre, Śragdhara.²⁴ This word, which is quite clear in the original, appears to be used for कुमरः²⁵ Metre, Pytharī.²⁶ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.²⁷ Metre, Śragdhara.²⁸ Metre, Rathoddhātā.²⁹ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita³⁰ The original has कृपा 'the hood of a serpent,' but one expects a word meaning 'a serpent,' compare, e.g. line 1 of the grant of Vāṅkpatiraja, in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, p. 160

Brahman, the indestructible, ageless, immortal, others the verily auspicious Buddha, (and) others again the spotless Vāmana, the triumphant (Jina) !

(4) People overcome with severe distress (*brought about*) by violent fever (*sent*) by the great Indra (?) or by Vishnu, (and) those seized again and again by goblins and by evil spirits that show themselves day by day, (and) those afflicted with leprosy, which displays its fierce might by sore thumbs and fore-arms,—(all) these are freed from evil when they set eyes on thy clearly shown uncouth twisted tresses of hair

(5) There was on the surface of the earth a matchless (*town*), decorated with lofty palaces, which is recorded to have been founded here between the golden and silver ages by some ruler of the earth, a lord of the people, who was of Brahman's race, (*a town which is* read of in histories (?) (and) called Padmāvati by people versed in the Purāṇas

(6.) This most excellent (*town*) named Padmāvati, built in an unprecedented manner, was crowded with lofty rows of streets of palaces, in which tall houses were curvetting with its shining white high-topped walls, which grazed the clouds, it irradiated the sky, (and) it was full of bright palatial dwellings that resembled the peaks of the snowy mountain

(7) Tell us, need we praise that (*town*) in which the dust raised up by the pounding of the hoofs of galloping tall horses made the sky, covered (*as it were*) with an old worn-out cloth, look like the belly of a tortoise, while the ground in a wonderful manner was furnished with a coating of mud by the rain emitted from the cheeks of many infuriated formidable elephants? What need we say more?

(8.) In that (*town*) there was born . . . of (?) the Grahapati family . . . undefiled, the famous illustrious Atiyasobala, bowed down to by people who excelled by first-rate qualities, who by his own arm acquired wondrous fame, supported, like excellent trees, the families of friends and dependants, (and) threw down the forces of enemies . . . by striking with arrows which were the glances fond of his knitted brows(?)

He who built tanks full of water, in which the lotuses shone with the loveliness of the spreading rays of the bright-lustred moon, and temples high like the peaks of the Himālaya, he, successful like Indra, was called Yasobala.

(11) From him was born (*a son*) named Mahata, who honoured the whole body of relatives, who, by (*attaining*) the difficult-to-be-obtained fruit of the three objects of life,²¹ in a blameless manner secured for himself happiness, (and) who indeed delighted the people by his high-mindedness which was proclaimed by tales in praise of his good fame

(12.) His son was the illustrious Jayadeva, a performer of good deeds, whose actions were able to remove . . . fear and dishonour from his own and from all people . . . (?)

(13.) From him, who by his loveliness was the moon, and, as regards the attainment of the objects of men's desires, a tree of paradise, there was born, as the light proceeds from the lord of the day, a son (*named*) Sekkala, who was learned, a sun of unparalleled majesty, famous, foremost among the good, the sole habitation of truth, liberality, and bravery, self confident, (and) endowed with wealth.

²¹ i.e., religion, wealth, and pleasure

On account of his manliness not to be insulted, endowed with fame which spread to the ends of the broad regions, in munificence like Karna, and not conversant with hurtful or deceitful speech, the illustrious Sekkala at once showed his greatness both by his benevolence and in battle, was difficult of approach for the host of enemies, and (?).

[The next verse also refers to Sekkala (whose name is spelt here Sekkalla), who appears to be described as a boat for crossing the ocean of royal government. But the verse is incomplete, and I am unable to derive from the words actually remaining any connected meaning.]

(16.) His younger brother, too, endowed with beauty, propriety of conduct, generosity, and activity, and already in youth of noble conduct, is famous as the illustrious Kokkala.

He who on worthy recipients incessantly bestowed food, hundreds of excellent dresses, horses, couches, and seats, dwelling-places accompanied by umbrellas and shoes, and great donations of grain, that was here the illustrious Kokkala, a youth (?) engaged in works of piety

Kokkala caused to be built a wonderful town which, furnished with big archways of great value, (and) with dwellings high like mountain-peaks, (and) with highly decorated lofty shining great gates, resembled the city of Indra.

(19.) Desirous of crossing the deep ocean, he caused to be erected this (temple, high like ?) the spotless great peaks of the mountain of snow, the lofty golden dome of which, because it is in contact with the fierce splendour of the sun, became a spotless canopy for the glorious lord Vaidyanātha.

[The next verse, which is incomplete, appears to describe certain buildings close to the temple, which Kokkala erected for pious Brāhmins].

Here he settled a faultless very learned crowd of twice-born who knew the Vedas (and) delighted in the six duties (enjoined on Brāhmins).

(21.) The creeper of his good fame, the sprouts of which are shining with prosperity produced by the sprinkling of his boundless discernment, (and) which nourishes (like groups of birds) crowds of twice-born, (and) is beautified, as by flowers, by good conduct, rising above the lines of princes (as above mountains), ascends from the wide round basin of the earth up into the universe, as if it were an arbour.

The year 1058, on the full-moon day of Kārttika. By the illustrious Kokkala.

THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM IMAGES IN THE JAINA TEMPLES.

VI.

This incomplete inscription is in a single line, 5½" long. The size of the letters is about ⅝". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. The inscription contains merely the words: "The Śreṣṭhīn, the illustrious Pānidhara, in the Grahapati family."

The Grahapati family, mentioned here and in the two following inscriptions, is also mentioned in line 8 of the preceding inscription of Kokkala, No. V.

TEXT.

¹ [अ*]ग्रहपत्यन्वये त्रेष्टित्रीपाणिधर [॥*]

VII.

This is another inscription in a single line, 2' long The size of the letters is about 1". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit The inscription contains the words "Om! In the Grahapati family, the Śreshthīn Pānidhara, his sons, the Śreshthīn Trivikrama, and Ālhana, (and) Lakshmīdhara," and the date "the year 1205 (which, as a year of the Vikrama era, corresponds to A.D 1147-48), the 5th day of the dark half of (the month) Māgha "

TEXT.

ओं ॥ ग्रहपत्यन्वये त्रेष्टिपाणिधरस्तस्य सुत त्रेष्टिति(त्रि)विक्रम तथा आलहण । लक्ष्मीधर ॥ संवत्
१२०५ । माघ वदि ५ ॥

VIII.

This inscription¹ is on the base of a Jaina image and is in a single line, divided into two parts by a boss the first part is 1' 7½" and the second 1' 5½" long The size of the letters is about ¾" The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit

The inscription is dated in the year 1215 (which, as a year of the Vikrama era, corresponds to A D 1157-58), on the 5th day of the bright half of (the month) Māgha, in the prosperous reign of victory of the illustrious Madanavarmadeva. And it records that the statue on which the inscription is, was caused to be set up by the Sādhu Salhe, the son of Pāhilla, who was the son of the Śreshthīn Dedū, of the Grahapati family, and adds that the sons of Salhe, Mahāgana, Mahichandra, Sirichandra, Jinachandra, Udayachandra, and the rest, always bow down to Sambhavanātha The name of the artizan was Rāmadeva The name Pahilla we have met before, in inscription No III.

TEXT

ओं¹ ॥ संवत् १२१५ माघ सुदि ५ श्रीमन्मदनवर्मदेवप्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये ॥ ग्रहपतिवसे(शे) त्रेष्टिदेव
तत्पुत्रपाहिह्न । पाहिह्लागरुहसाधुसाल्हे [ते]निर्द(य) प्रतिमा कारितेति ॥ ॥ तत्पुत्राः महागण ।
महीचंद्र । सि[रि]चंद्र । जिनचंद्र । उदयचंद्रप्रभृति² । संभवनाथं प्रणमति³ नित्य ॥ मंग[ल] महाश्री [०*] ॥
रूपकाररामदेव[०*] ॥

¹ This *akshara*, and whatever may have preceded it, is broken away

² Expressed by a symbol

³ This inscription has been published by Sir A Cunningham in *Archaeol Survey of India*, vol XXI, p. 61, and I now re edit it from an impression taken by Dr Burgess

⁴ Expressed by a symbol

⁵ One expects प्रभृतय.

⁶ Read प्रणमति

XX—THE TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF THE VAILLABHATTASVAMIN TEMPLE AT GWALIOR

By E HULTSCH, PH.D., BANGALORE.

The two subjoined inscriptions¹ are engraved on a small monolithic temple, which is situated on a turn of the road leading up to the Gwalior Fort. The temple was described by General Cunningham, according to whom it is now called the Chaturbhuj Temple.² The first inscription, which is engraved over the front door of the temple, seems to have hitherto remained unnoticed. A rough transcript and translation of the second inscription, which is found inside the temple on the left wall,³ was published by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra.⁴ My transcripts of the two inscriptions were made from mechanical copies taken during a visit to Gwalior in 1885.

The first inscription consists of 27 Sanskrit verses and must have been composed by an ingenious pandit, who was well versed in *alamkāra*. His extravagant hyperboles will appear startling and amusing even to one accustomed to the usual *kāvya* style. We learn from the inscription that the Vishnu temple containing it was built by a certain Alla, the son of Vaillabhatta and grandson of Nāgarabhatta, and that it was consecrated in the year 932 (*in words*). Nāgarabhatta belonged to the Varjāra family and had immigrated from Ānandapura in Lātamandala, *i.e.* Vadnagar in Gujarāt. Vaillabhatta had been chief of the boundaries (*maryādā-dhurya*) or margrave in the service of (*king*) Rāmadeva (verse 7). Alla succeeded his father in office (v 11), and was appointed to the guardianship of Gopādrī, *i.e.* of the Gwalior Fort, by (*king*) Śrīmad-Ādivaraha (v 22).

The second inscription is written in incorrect Sanskrit prose and dated in the year 933 (*in words and figures*), at Śrī-Gopagiri (*i.e.* the Gwalior Fort) and during the reign of the *paramēśvara* Bhojadeva. Alla is here directly called the guardian of the fort (*ṭollapāla*) of Gopagiri. The inscription records four donations to two temples, which had been built by Alla, the son of Vaillabhatta. The donee of the first grant was the Navadurgā Temple situated beyond the Viśchikalā river; this is probably another name of the river Subanrikh⁵ (*Subanarekhā*⁶) at Gwalior. The two donees of the three remaining grants were the same Navadurga Temple and "the Vishnu temple called Vaillabhatta-svamin, which Alla had likewise caused to be built on the descent of the road of the illustrious Bhojadeva." By this we have to understand the temple, at which both inscriptions are found. It had evidently received its name in commemoration of Vaillabhatta, the father of its founder. The four donations were made by the inhabitants of "the place" (*sthāna*), *i.e.* the ancient town of Gwalior, which lies on the eastern side of the fort. They consisted of a piece of land for a flower-garden, two fields, a monthly supply of lamp-oil to be made by the guild of oil-millers, and a monthly supply of flower-garlands to be made by the guild of the gardeners,

¹ The first is a revised version of one which I published in the *Zeitschrift der Deutsch Morgenland Gesellschaft* XLV.

² *General and Archaeological Survey of India*, vol II, p. 355.

³ *Ibid.* p. 355.

⁴ *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol XXII, p. 407.

⁵ *General and Archaeological Survey of India*, vol II, p. 732.

who dwelt on the top of the Gwalior Fort (*Śrī-Gopagiri-talopari*) The inscription mentions several other localities, which I am unable to identify, viz Chūdāpallikā, Jayapurāka, Śrī-Sarveśvarapura, Śrīvatsasvāmipura, Chachchikāhattikā and Nimbādityahattikā. It deserves to be noted, that at the time of the inscription the measure of length was "royal yards" (*pārameśvarīya-hasta*) and that of capacity "dronas according to the measure of Gwalior" (*Gopagiriya-māpyena*)

The first inscription mentions two kings, viz Rāmadeva, the contemporary of Vāillabhata, and Śrīmad-Ādivarāha, the contemporary of Alla. At the time of the second inscription the ruler of Gwalior was the *paramēśvara* Bhojadeva. Another inscription of a *paramēśvara* Bhojadeva was discovered by General Cunningham at Deogarh.⁶ Its date, Samvat 919 and Śaka 784, led General Cunningham to suppose that the date of the second Gwalior inscription, Samvat 933, has to be referred to the Vikrama era. Referring the date of an inscription at Peheva, Samvat 276, to the era of Śrīhaisha, General Cunningham further identified the *paramēśvara* Bhojadeva of the Deogarh inscription and of the second Gwalior inscription with the *paramēśvara* Bhojadeva, the son of the *paramēśvara* Rāmabhadradeva.⁷ This supposition is corroborated by the first Gwalior inscription, as the Rāmadeva, whom it mentions as a contemporary of Vāillabhata, seems to be identical with the Rāmabhadradeva of the Peheva inscription. Śrīmad-Ādivarāha in the first Gwalior inscription I take to be a *biruda* of Bhojadeva himself. Thus we have the following names and dates —

- 1 *Paramēśvara* Rāmabhadradeva (Peheva inscription) or Rāmadeva (Gwalior inscription No 1).
- 2 His son, *paramēśvara* Bhojadeva (Deogarh, Gwalior No. 2, and Peheva) or Śrīmad-Ādivarāha (Gwalior No. 1) Dates A D. 862 (Deogarh), 875 (Gwalior No 1), 876 (Gwalior No 2), and 882 (Peheva)

As lately shown by Mr Fleet, the *mahārāja* Bhojadeva, son of the *mahārāja* Rāmabhadradeva, who is mentioned in two copper-plate grants from Mahodaya, is distinct from the above-mentioned *paramēśvara* Bhojadeva.⁸ Another identification of General Cunningham's is also uncertain, as Kalhana's *Rājataranginī* (V 151) does not seem to mention a king Bhoja, but a king of the Bhojas (*Bhojādhirāja*), as a contemporary of Śamkaravarman of Kaśmīr.⁹

⁶ *Ibid* vol X, p 101.

⁷ *Jour As Soc Beng* vol XXXII, p 229, Cunningham's *Archæol Survey of India*, vol II, p 224, vol IX, pp 84 and 102. The inscription reads *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Rāmabhadradeva-pādānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Bhojadeva-pādānām abhivpravarddhamāna-kalyāna vijaya-rājye samvatsara sataadvaye śaṣṭiptatyadhikā vaiśākhamaśa suklapakṣa saptamyān samvat 276 vaiśākha śudī 7*. The apparent breaks in the facsimile (*Jour As Soc Beng* vol XXXII) arise from the overlapping parts not having been properly pasted together.

⁸ *Ind Ant* vol XV, p 110. From Professor Kielhorn's introduction to the Siyadon inscription (*infra*) it appears that the *paramēśvara* Bhojadeva of the Deogarh, Gwalior, and Peheva inscriptions was a king of Mahodaya or Kanyakubjā the Qannauj (कन्नौज) of Firdausi, and the modern Kanauj, and that his successor, the *paramēśvara* Mahendrapāla-deva was ruling in A D 903. Among the coins which are mentioned in the Siyadon inscription, is the *Śrīmad Ādivarāha-dramma*. This coin was evidently named after Śrīmad Ādivarāha, the *biruda* of Bhojadeva. General Cunningham, in *Arch Survey of India*, vol I, p 329, identifies it with a base silver coin, which bears on the obverse a representation of the boar incarnation and on the reverse the legend *Śrīmad-Ādivarāha*. The coin is engraved in Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia*, pl lxx, No mcccix. It is frequently met with in Northern India — Conf Cunningham's *Arch Survey of India*, vol VI, p 137, and *loc cit*.

⁹ The reading adopted by Mr. Fleet, *धर्मोदये धर्मिकान्वये*, is confirmed by my Kaśmīr MS. The Deccan Collego MS reads *ध - धूते धर्मिकान्वये*.

FIRST INSCRIPTION.

TEXT

(L 1.) श्री [॥*] कालिन्ध्याः किं जलोघो घनतिसिरनिभो जाङ्गवीस्पृक्षया नः प्रोद्यातः किन्न¹⁰ भूयो गगनतलगतं विन्ध्यसानुर्विहन्तु । चिह्नमोर्यस्य दृष्ट्वा चरणमति¹¹ चिरं मत्तयो नैव पूष्णो जग्मुः चोभादिवोद्ये-
र्नभसि स मधुजिह्वन्तु व. कल्मषाणि ॥ [१*] अतिललितलाटमण्डलतिलकानन्दपुरनिर्गतो गुणवान् ।
वर्ज्यरान्वयनागरभट्टकुमारोभवद्येन ॥ [२*] वाङ्मयभट्टनामा तनयोजनि जनितजनचमत्कारो¹² । न यु-
धिष्ठिरोप्यकार्पाद्यः सन्न नकुलेन सप्रीतिं ॥ [३*]

(2) परिभाषादि¹³ ज्ञान वैयाकरणस्य यस्य परमासीत् । कर्मोपधाधिकारी न कदाचिद्वाचकौ¹⁴
भूतौ ॥ [४*] सुशुभ्रतां व्याप्तदिगन्तरत्वमासाद्य दुग्धाधिरगाधताञ्च । जिग¹⁵सयोर्ध्वञ्च यशःपयोधिमाद्यास्त
यस्यातितरां तरङ्गैः ॥ [५*] धनदोपि न प्रमत्तो ध्वस्तममस्तसविषोपि न विरूपः । रत्नाकरोपि न जडो यो
नाशोकोपि रागिष्ठः । [६*] श्रीरामदेवकार्यं मर्यादाधुर्यतामलक्षयता । येन विशुद्धं युद्धे निजकुलवप्रकटित
नाम ॥ [७*] किम्बहुना यस्य गुणाः कथयितुमपि नैव यान्ति सादृचैः ।

(3) मानाधिकसम्बु यतो घटकोध्वावपि न गृह्णाति¹⁶ ॥ [८*] लक्ष्मीं सुरारिर्नगजाञ्च शम्भुः शची
यथेन्द्रोय तथा सुशीला । कुलोद्भवा कासरकीयविष्णोःसुतां स कान्ता समवाप जज्जा ॥ [९*] व्यपगतमद-
मोहजालसङ्गः कृतचरितैकरतः प्रसन्नमूर्तिः । परिहृतखलसङ्गमः सुतोक्तः सकलकलाकुशलो बभूव ताभ्या ॥
[१०*] न पितृर्धुरोधिकारी पुत्रोभूत्वश्चिदप्यमूल्यान्¹⁷ । श्रोतुमशक्तेनोद्दिधृक्षेन न विषयलुब्धेन ॥ [११*]
दुग्धाब्धेरिव मूर्तिर्यस्य सदा दानवारिपरिपूता । कमलालिङ्गितवपुषः प्रजापतेरिव तनुर्यस्य ॥ [१२*]

(4) हर इव हृषविजितास्थो दीपासङ्ग न भानुरिव मेने । मधुरिपुखि यमन्ततमाक्रान्तविषय-
सङ्घातः ॥ [१३*] यस्य परार्थमज्ञा सततं परिदृश्यते मतिर्नूनं । निर्मोभवत् तस्य हि जात खलु यत्तदाश्चर्यं ॥
[१४*] सन्त्यक्तपरकलत्रो धर्मैकरतोपि सर्वदावश्य । निजवनितापरितुष्टोऽभिलषितसुहृज्जनप्रमदः ॥
[१५*] अवलोक्य वक्त्रकमल यस्य शशी खोदयेपि मलविकल । कर्तुमनीशः किञ्चिदप्रतिक्षणं क्षीयतेद्यापि ॥
[१६*] अकरोद्यद्य विकल्पं व्याख्यानविधौ न दानविषयेषु ।

(5.) सग्रामस्य न योभूत्पराङ्मुखः परकलक्षस्य ॥ [१७*] स्थैर्यं वचसि न रोपे स्पृष्टो विजयैर्न
जातु कलिकलुषं । यस्याभवदालस्य पापेषु न राजकार्येषु ॥ [१८*] धर्माङ्गने च लोभो न कदाचित्परधनेषु
विविधेषु । यस्य त्वविवेकित्वं मित्रेषु न वृजिविभवेषु ॥ [१९*] दारिद्र्यं हरतार्थिनो रिपुजनाल्लक्ष्मी मनो
योषितः¹⁸ रूपं पञ्चशरादगाधपयसो गाम्भीर्यमभोनिधेः । चित्तं येन विचारचारुमनसामाचारमातन्वता¹⁹ सव-
त्त्वेन जनापवादरहितं चोयं प्रकाशोक्तं ॥ [२०*]

(6) कुर्वीत यदि विधाता कर्णानामपि सहस्रमहिषस्य । श्रुत्वाथ तद्गुणैधान्वदनशतेः शङ्कया-
वृत्तं ॥ [२१*] श्रीमदादिवराज्ञेन सैलौघं विजिगीषुणा । तद्गुणान्य, परिज्ञाय कृतो गोपाद्रिपालने ॥ [२२*]
कन्दुकदुहिता वज्रा येष्टतमामाप सोमटां तनया । भट्टसुतान्या गोगापरा महादेवजा गौरो ॥ [२३*]
गोवर्धनजा सिद्धा नन्नकतनयसटा च येनोद्धा²⁰ । वज्रादीनां स्वस्य च पुन्यस्य²¹ विहृद्ये महता ॥ [२४*]
सिद्धैर्वर्त्म सम भवाधितरणे य -

¹⁰ Read किन्नु¹¹ Read चरणमिति¹² Read चमत्कार¹³ द is obliterated and therefore looks like व¹⁴ Read वाचकौ ?¹⁵ Read गं¹⁶ Read गृह्णाति¹⁷ Read मूल्यान्¹⁸ Read योषितो¹⁹ Read पुण्यस्य

(7.) द्यानपात्र महद्बीज धर्मतरोरनन्तफलद स्थान त्रियः साश्वत^{२०} । टङ्गोत्कीर्णयशोनिधानमिव
यन्नामाचरैरङ्घ्रित तेनाकारि विकारशून्यमनसा विष्णोरिदं मन्दिर ॥ [२५*] दधति जलमगाध सागरा
यावदुच्चैर्गिरिरयमपि वोढा यावदभ्रकषस्य । शिरसि शिखरराशेः स्वेयसी श्लाघरूपा खगयतु भुवि कीर्त्तिं
रोदमी तावदेपा ॥ [२६*] ॥ नवसु शतेष्वद्धानां द्वाचिन्म^{२१} त्सयुतेषु वैशाखे । रम्येस्मिन्नेकशिले विष्णुर्भक्त्या
प्रतिष्ठितो भवने ॥ [२७*] ॥

TRANSLATION.

Om (Verse 1.) May that Vishnu destroy your sins, having seen whose foot, when he was going to stride (*the three worlds*), the horses of the sun did not pace the lofty sky for a long time, as they seemed to be afraid, that, vying with the Gangâ, the flood of the waters of the Yamunâ, which resembles dense darkness, or that the ridge of the Vindhya (*mountain*) had risen again, in order to obstruct their path in the heavenly sphere!

(Vv 2 & 3) There was a virtuous youth, Nâgarabhatta of the Varjâra family, who had come from Ânandapura, the ornament of the lovely Lâtamandala. He begat a son, Vaillabhatta by name, who excited the admiration of the people, as he was constant in battle (*yudhishtira*), but did not conclude a true friendship with low people (*nakula*), (*while Yudhishtira was a true friend of his younger brother Nakula*).

(4) As a grammarian he possessed an intimate knowledge of the explanatory rules, &c., but the results of deeds in former births (*larman*) or of tricks (*upadhâ*) never gave him trouble²²

(5) The milk-ocean, which has a deep-white colour, which fills all quarters and which is unfathomable, loudly challenged with its waves the high sea of his fame, trying (*in vain*) to equal (*its height*)

(6) He was liberal (*or Kuvera*), but not inattentive (*or not Varuna*),²³ a destroyer of all snakes (*or Garuda*), but not ugly (*or bird-shaped*), a mine of jewels (*or the ocean*), but not stupid (*or cold*), and without sorrow (*or an asoka tree*), but not impassioned (*or red*)

(7) While, in the service of the illustrious Râmadeva, he never transgressed his duty of chief of the boundaries, he, like his ancestors, proclaimed his spotless name in battles (*for which he had to transgress the boundaries of the realm*)

(8.) Why say more? His virtues cannot even be told by people like myself, for even from the ocean a pot cannot receive more water than its measure

(9) As Vishnu (*took*) Lakshmi, as Śiva (*took*) the mountain-daughter and as India (*took*) Śachi, thus he took for his wife the virtuous and noble Jajjâ, the daughter of Kâsarakiya-Vishnu

(10) These two had a son (*called*) Alla, to whom the net of conceit and delusion had ceased to be attached, whose only aim was, that his deeds might be (*worthy of*)

²⁰ Read शश्वतम्

²¹ Read द्वाचिन्म

²² *Palashe*, the two words *larman* and *upadhâ* have to be taken in their grammatical meaning, "passive voice" and "penultimate letter" I do not know to which *paribhâshâ* the author alludes

²³ Professor Kielhorn has favoured me with the following explanation of the words *ghanadopi na pramatto* "I would compare *Īśavādattâ*, p. 111 *ghanadenâpi prachetasâ*. At least *na pramatta* is the same as *prachetas* and I should almost think, that the author of the inscription remembered the quotation from *Vâsavadattâ* — *Dhanada (Kuvera)* is not *prachetas* (*Varuna*), hence *pramatta*, Vaillabhatta is not *pramatta*, hence *prachetas* (attentive)

the *Kṛita* (age); who possessed a gracious appearance, who avoided the intercourse with the wicked and who was skilled in all arts.

(11.) He (*continued*) to bear the burden (*of his father's office*), not because he was desirous of worldly (*power*), (*but*) because he could not bear to hear it said, that a son had never been up to his father's affairs.

(12.) As the milk-ocean by the rutting-juice (*of elephants*), he was continually purified by the water (*poured out*) at donations, and as Pīajāpatī by the lotus (*that rose from Vishnu's navel*), he was embraced by the goddess of prosperity

(13.) He constantly took care of meritorious gifts, as Śiva of his bull, he avoided the touch of sin, as the sun the touch of the evening, and he stepped on the crowd of his enemies, as Vishnu on the flapping wings of his bud (*Garuda*).

(14.) It is indeed wonderful that he has remained free from covetousness, although his mind is always observed to be attached to the highest truth (*or apparently to the property of others*).

(15.) Although he avoided the wives of others, took delight only in virtue and was satisfied with his own wives, he constantly and by all means desired the pleasure (*or apparently the wives*) of his friends

(16.) Having perceived the lotus-face of this man, the moon is even now waning a little in every moment, because even at her rise she is unable to free (*herself*) from spots (*while he is spotless*).

(17.) He gave alternatives, when he had to furnish a commentary, but made no distinction between the recipients of his gifts, and turned away from another's wife, but not from battle

(18.) He stuck to his word, but not to anger, was covered with (*the fame of*) victories, but not in the slightest with the sins of the *Kālī* (age), and was slow (*when he was afraid*) to sin, but not in the affairs of the king.

(19.) He was desirous of acquiring spiritual merit, but never of another's property of any kind, and made no distinction between his friends, but knew how to judge the degree of intelligence (*of others*)

(20.) Curiously enough, he who led the conduct of those whose minds appear refined to mental observation, openly carried on robbery of all kinds, without meeting the blame of the world, for he robbed the beggar of his poverty, the enemy of his prosperity, woman of her heart, Cupid of his beauty, and the unfathomable ocean of its depth.

(21.) Even if the Creator had bestowed a thousand ears on the king of serpents, would then the latter be able to hear the floods of virtues of that man and to enumerate them with his hundreds of mouths?

(22.) Having observed his virtues, the illustrious Ādivarāha, who wished to conquer the three worlds, appointed him to the guardianship of Gopādrī

(Vv 23 to 25.) This great and passionless man, who had married Vavvā, the daughter of Kanhuka and mother of (*his*) favourite daughter Somatā, further Goggā, the daughter of Bhatta, then Gaurī, the daughter of Mahādeva, Sillā, the daughter of Govardhana, and Īsatā, the daughter of Nannaka, built, for the increase of the spiritual merit of Vavvā, &c, and of himself, this temple of Vishnu, which is an even path to beatitude, a great ship for crossing the ocean of existences, the seed of the tree

of spiritual merit, which bears endless fruit,²⁴ the permanent abode of the goddess of prosperity and, so to say, a receptacle of (*his*) fame, cut by the chisel, and marked with the syllables of (*his*) name

(26) As long as the oceans will contain unfathomable water and as long as this lofty mountain will bear on its head a mass of peaks, which touch the clouds, so long may this beautiful temple²⁵ stand on earth and cover the two worlds (*with its fame*)

(27) In the year nine hundred and thirty-two, in Vaisākha, (*a statue of*) Vishnu was reverently placed in this lovely temple, which consists of a single piece of rock

SECOND INSCRIPTION

TEXT

(L 1) श्री नमो विष्णवे ॥ सम्वत्सरशतेषु नवसु त्रयस्त्रिंशद्दधिकेषु माघशुक्लद्वितीयाया स ८३३
माघ शुदि २ अद्येह श्रीगोपगिरौ स्वामिनि

(2) परमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवे तदधिकृतं कोटपाल अक्षे वलाधिकृतं तत्तकी स्थानाधिकृतं श्रेष्ठि-
वव्वियाक(१)इच्छुवाक(१)सार्थवाहप्रमुख सव्विया -

(3) काना वारं । ममस्तस्थानेन वाइल्लभट्सुताल्लकारितं वृश्चिकालानदीपरकूले रुद्ररुद्राणीपू-
र्णाशाट्टिनवदुर्गायतना -

(4) य स्वभुज्यमावूडा'पल्लिकाग्रामप्रतिवद्धभूमिखण्डं दैर्घ्येण पारमेश्वरीयहस्तशतद्वय सप्तत्यधिक
हस्त २७० विस्तरं

(5) हस्तशतमेक सप्ताशीत्यधिकं हस्त १८७ पुष्पवाटिकार्थं पुण्येहनि^१ प्रदत्त [॥*] तथा ऽनेनैव
स्थानेनास्मिन्नेव सम्वत्सरे

(6) फाल्गुनवह्नुलपक्षप्रतिपदि श्रीभोजदेवप्रतोत्यवतारे अक्षेनैव कारितवाइल्लभट्ट[स्वाम्यभिधान-
विष्णु]यतनाय तथो -

(7) परिलिखितनवदुर्गायतनाय च पूजासंस्कारार्थं स्वभुज्यमानजयपुराकग्रामे व्याघ्रकेण्डिकाभि-
धानहारमूला[वापे']

(8) सङ्गडाकसुतदल्लकवाहितचेत्त तथास्यैव चेत्तस्योत्तरतः चक्षियदेववर्गसुतमेष्माकवाहितचेत्त
च ययोर्गी'पगिरीयमा -

(9) येनावापो यवानां द्रोणा एकादश [॥*] तयोर्द्वयोरपि चेत्तयोराघाटाः पूर्व्येण नउडाकवा-
हितचेत्त दक्षिणेन पाद्घाटः

(10) पश्चिमेन दल्लकवाहितचेत्ते पाद्घाटः ततो मेष्माकवाहितचेत्ते उत्तराभिमुखवाहकः चेत्त
परिवेक्ष्य गतः उत्तरेण वर्तं

(11) लघुपाद्घाटिका च [॥*] एव चतुराघाटविशुद्धचेत्तद्वय पुण्येहनि प्रदत्त ॥ तथास्मिन्नेव
सम्वत्सरे फाल्गुनवह्नुलपक्षनवम्या

²⁴ The sense requires *anantaphaladam* to be taken with *dharmataroh*, although it is grammatically connected with *hijam*

²⁵ *Kirtis* seems to have the same technical meaning as *kirtana*, 'temples,' see *Indian Antiquary*, vol XII, pp 229 and 289

¹ The *s* of the *akshara* स्त्रि is incomplete, read त्रयस्त्रिंशद्.

^{*} The crack over त is perhaps the remains of an *e*

² The letter त is entered below the line

³ Read स्वभुज्यमानवूडा°

⁴ The crack behind स्त is perhaps the remains of an *d*

⁵ Read पुण्येहनि

⁷ These two *aksharas* are injured by a crack and doubtful

⁸ The *r* over गी is indistinct

(12.) उपरिलिखितदेवकुलाभ्यां हाभ्यामपि दीपतैलार्थं श्रीसर्वेश्वरपुरनिवासितैलिकमहत्तक भोच्चाकसुतसर्वस्वाक (1) तथा माधव -

(13.) सुतन्याशक्ति तथा शिवधरिसुतसाङ्गुल तथा सङ्गाकसुतगङ्गीक । तथा श्रीवत्सस्वामिपुरनि-
वासितैलिकमह -

(14.) त्तक कुण्डाकसुतसिधाक तथा वल्लूकसुतखोहडाक । तथा चञ्चिकाहट्टिकानिवादित्यहट्टिक-
योर्निवासितैलिकम -

(15.) हत्तक देउवाकसुतजज्जट तथा वच्छिन्नाकसुतगोङ्गाक तथा देहूकसुतजम्बेक तथा रुद्रटसुत-
जम्बहरि । एवमादि -

(16.) समस्ततैलिकयेष्सा प्रतिकोल्लुकं मासि मासि शुक्लनवम्या शुक्लनवम्यां तैलपलिका पलिका
दातव्येत्थयनी -

(17.) मिका प्रदत्ता ॥ तथायैवामूभ्यामेव देवकुलाभ्या श्रीगोपगिरितलोपरिनिवासिमालिकमहर
गाङ्गुलसुतटिक्कूक

(18.) तथा देहूकसुतजासेक तथा बहुलाकसुतसिद्धूक तथा जम्बाकसुतसहडाक तथा दन्तिमुत-
दुर्गाधरि तथा ननुमाकवा¹⁰ -

(19.) उमाक तथा वेउवाकसुतवाय[टा]कादिसमस्तमालिकयेष्सा पूजार्थं यथाकालोपयिक¹¹ हट्ट-
पुयैर्मा -

(20.) लाः प(१)च्चाशत् पच्चाशत् माला ५० प्रतिदिनं दातव्येत्थ¹²यनीमिका प्रदत्ता [॥*] एत-
दुपरिलिखित उपरिलिखि -

(21.) तस्यानादिभिः स्वमुक्त्या आचन्द्रार्कचितिकालं प्रदत्तं [॥*] परिपय्यना केरपि¹³ न कर्त्तव्या ॥
यतस्त्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा यो

(22.) हरैत वसुन्धरां [॥*] स विद्याया कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिस्सह मोदते¹⁴ ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता
राजभिस्सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य

(23.) यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ * ॥¹⁵

TRANSLATION.

Om Adoration to Vishnu ! In the year nine hundred and thirty-three, on the second day of the bright (*half*) of Māgha,—Sam[vat] 933, Māgha śudī 2—to-day, here at Śrī-Gopagiri, while the *paramēśvara* Śrī-Bhojadeva was the ruler, while the guardian of the fort (*kottapāla*) Alla commanded this (*Gopagiri*), while Tattaka commanded the army (*and*) while the merchant Vavviyāka, the trader Ichchhuvāka, and the other (*members*) of the board (*° vāra*) of the Savviyākas were administering the city, the whole town gave to the temple of the nine Durgās, *viz* of Rudra, Rudrāni, Pūrṇāśa, &c., which Alla, the son of Vāillabhatta, had caused to be built on the further bank of the Vriśchikāḷā river, a piece of land belonging to the village of Chūdāpallikā, which was its (*viz* the town's) property, two hundred and seventy royal *hastas*—*hasta* 270—in length (*and*) one hundred and eighty-seven *hastas*—*hasta* 187—in breadth, for a flower-garden, on an auspicious day.

¹ ह might be also read instead of दु

² Read ननुमाकसुतवा०

¹¹ Read यथाकालोपयिक०

¹² Read दाताया इत्य०

¹³ Read केरपि

¹⁴ Read पय्यते

¹⁵ There follows an illegible scrawl, which fills the remainder of line 23 and four further lines

(11—11) And this same town gave in this same year, on the first day of the dark half of Phālguna, to the Vishnu temple called Vāilabhata-svāmin, which Alla had likewise caused to be built on the descent of the road of Śīl-Bhojadeva, and to the above-mentioned temple of the nine Durgās, for the performance of worship, the field cultivated¹⁵ by Dallaka, the son of Sangadāka, in the chief grain-land (? *mālavāpa*) of the common¹⁷ called Vyaghrakendikā, in the village of Jayapurāka, which was its (*viz* the town's) property, and on the north of this same field, the field cultivated by Mem-māka, the son of the Kshatriya Devavarman,¹⁸ the seed required for which two (*fields*) is eleven *dronas* of barley according to the measure of Gopagiri,¹⁹—the boundaries of these two fields are on the east, the field cultivated by Naudāka; on the south, a piece of rock,²⁰ on the west, near the field of Dallaka, a piece of rock, and near the field of Memmaka, a water-channel,²¹ which leads to the north and runs round the field, on the north, a road and a small piece of rock,—the two fields, thus defined by their four boundaries, on an auspicious day

(11—17) And in this same year, on the ninth day of the dark half of Phālguna, (*the town*) gave to the two above-mentioned temples a perpetual endowment²² to the effect that, in order (*to provide*) oil for the lamps, the chiefs of the oil-millers, who dwell in Śrī-Sarveśvarapura, (*viz*) Sarvasvāka, the son of Bhojchhāka, Jyāśakti, the son of Madhava, Sahulla, the son of Śivadhari, and Gaggika, the son of Sangāka; the chiefs of the oil-millers, who dwell in Śrīvatsasvāmapura, (*viz*) Singhāka, the son of Kundāka, and Khohadaka, the son of Vallūka, the chiefs of the oil-millers, who dwell in Chachchikahattikā and Nimbādityahattikā, (*viz*) Jajjata, the son of Deūvāka, Goggaka, the son of Vachchhillāka, Jambeka, the son of Deddūka, and Jambahari, the son of Rudrata, and the other (*members*) of the whole guild of oil-millers should give one *palikā* of oil per oil-mill²³ on the ninth day of the bright (*half*) of every month

(17—20) And on this same day, (*the town*) gave to these same two temples a perpetual endowment to the effect, that the chiefs²⁴ of the gardeners, who dwell on the top of Śrī-Gopagiri, (*viz*) Tikkūka, the son of Gāhulla, Jāseka, the son of Deddūka, Siddhūka, the son of Vahulaka, Sahadāka, the son of Jambāka, Durgadhari, the son of Dantin, Vāumaka, (*the son of*) Nannumāka, and Vāyatāka, the son of Veūvāka, and the other (*members*) of the whole guild of gardeners should daily give,

¹⁵ The participle *vāhita* is derived from Hindi *bāhā*, "to plough"

¹⁷ *Hāi*, "a village-common, the cultivated space immediately round a village"—Bate's *Hindes Dictionary*

¹⁸ To judge from their names, the trader Ichchikavaka (l. 2) and the oil miller Jyāśakti (l. 13) also belonged to the Kshatriya caste. The law books permit a Kshatriya, and even a Brahmana, to adopt the livelihood of a Vaishya, if they are unable to gain their subsistence by fulfilling the duties of their own castes, see the passages on the so called *āpaddharma* or *āpattkalpa*, i.e. the rules for times of distress. Gantama, VII, Maun, X, 81 ff., Yājñavalkya, III, 36 ff.

¹⁹ Compare *Khetaka mānena vṛthi dvī pithaka vāpaṇ Kotilaka kshetram*, "the field of Kotilaka, the seed required for which is two *pithakas* of paddy according to the measure of Kīlaka" (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XV, p. 340, line 46), and *bhāmī yatra rāu drona sārtha sapta*, "a piece of land, the seed required for which is seven and a half *dronas*" (*ibid.* vol. XVI, p. 208).

²⁰ *Pāhāta* is perhaps a Sanskritised form of Hindi *paḥāḍ*, "mountain, hill, rock" (Platts)

²¹ *Vāhaka* seems to be connected with Hindi *bāhā*, "a water-channel,"—see Grierson's *Bihār Peasant Life*, p. 211

²² With *akshayanīmikā* (lines 16 and 20) compare *akshayanvī* in the Nāuk, Kanheri and Junnar Inscriptions in

Dr. Burgess's *Archaeol. Surv. Western Ind.*, vols. IV and V

²³ *Kolhuka* is the same as Hindi *kolhā*, "an oil mill,"—see Grierson, *u. s.* p. 46

²⁴ With *mālika mahara* compare *tailika mahattaka* (lines 12, 13 and 14) and *mahar*, "a chief" (Bate)

for (the requirements of) worship, fifty garlands—*mūlā* 50— of such market flowers as are available at the particular season

(20—23.) These above-mentioned gifts were made by the above-mentioned town, &c, from their property for as long a time as the moon, the sun and the earth exist Nobody shall cause obstruction (to the present owners). For (*Vyāsa has said*). [Here follow two of the usual minatory verses].

XXI—SIYADONI STONE INSCRIPTION.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, Ph.D., C.I.E.; GÜTTINGEN.

In the *Journal, Beng. As. Soc.*, vol. XXXI, pp 6-7, Dr F. E. Hall had occasion to mention "a huge inscription," existing in some part of the State of Gwālior, a transcript of which, by a native, had been made over to him by Colonel (now General Sir) Alexander Cunningham. From the apparently very imperfect copy supplied to him, Dr. Hall was able to report that the inscription in the opening lines mentioned a king Mahendrapāla. Near where he is spoken of, was the date 960. Next came Bhoja, and then Mahendrapāla again, with the date 961. Further on Kshītīpāla was mentioned; and, after him, Devapāla, the date 1005 being close by. These dates, according to Dr. Hall, were not sufficiently particularized for one to certify their era by calculation. Besides, the kings of the record were stated by Dr. Hall to have been memorialized as having granted land and other things, by way of local donaries, in ten several years, ranging from 960 to 1025. According to Sir A. Cunningham,¹ the actual site of the inscription was then unknown; and it has remained so for twenty-five years afterwards.²

In 1887, Dr Burgess, when in the Lalitpur district of the North-Western Provinces, learnt that there was a large inscription at 'Siron Khurd,' about ten miles WNW. of the town of Lalitpur, Long 78° 23' E, Lat 24° 50' N. (*Indian Atlas*, quarter-sheet 70, NW) And the inscription was found on the east of the village at which it had been reported to be,—and which in the inscription itself is called Siyadonī,—on the bank of the Kherār stream, in the precincts of a Jaina temple of Śāntinātha, where it had been recently set up by a Bania. It turned out to be the huge inscription mentioned by Dr Hall; and I now edit it from impressions supplied to me by Dr Burgess.

The inscription consists of forty-six lines; and the writing covers a space of about 5' 2" broad by 3' 4" high. Of the first two and the last two lines large portions of the writing have either gone altogether or become illegible, by the flaking off of the edges of the stone; and from the same cause some *alsharas* have become illegible in lines 39-44. But the preservation of lines 3-38 is perfect almost throughout, so that here the actual reading of the stone hardly admits of any doubt whatever. The size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī of about the eleventh century, down

¹ See *Journ., Beng. As. Soc.*, vol. XXXIII, p. 227.

² The inscription (or rather Dr Hall's short account of it) has been referred to by Dr. Hörnle, in the *Centenary Review, Beng. As. Soc.*, part II, p. 208, and by Mr Fleet, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV, p. 109, note 18 and vol. XVI, p. 178, who has pointed out the desirability of rediscovering and publishing the inscription.

to line 39, they are regularly and beautifully formed and skilfully engraved. The execution of lines 40-46 is somewhat inferior to the rest, and the difference in appearance is rendered more marked by the imperfect state of preservation of these concluding lines. The language of the inscription must be described as Sanskrit. Unless there was a date in any part of the concluding lines which is now illegible, the inscription itself is not dated, but it contains ten dates, some of which are historically important, while one is sufficiently particularized to ascertain from it the era employed, by calculation, as will be shown below.

The inscription consists of two parts. The first and by far the larger portion extends to about the middle of line 39, it is in prose, and records a large number of donations made at different times, from the (Vikrama) year 960 down to the (Vikrama) year 1025, and nearly every one of them by private individuals, in favour of various Brâhmanical deities, at Siyadoni. The second part, which is almost entirely in verse, comprises the remaining portion up to the end, and records the erection of a temple of Murâri (Vishnu).

THE FIRST PART

To treat fully of the language of the first part, would require almost a separate treatise. The author or authors, though intending to write Sanskrit, had a very meagre knowledge of the grammar of that language, they were evidently influenced by, and have freely employed words, phrases, and constructions of, their vernacular.

As regards orthography, *ṭ* has throughout been denoted by the sign for *v*, and the dental sibilant has often been employed for the palatal.³ The sign of the *ṣh* occurs twenty-two times, almost exclusively in the phrases यक्षश्चित् and यक्षोपि. The sign of the *ṣh* has been correctly employed six times (*e g*, in ०स्वामिणपर०, line 5, and ०भित्तिपश्चिमेन, line 13), but it has also been wrongly inserted three times (in ०धूम्रटणपरि०, line 18, ०ध्यातणपरम०, line 28, and ०निष्कलङ्कणपरि०, line 29), and probably erroneously omitted twice (in ०भित्ति पश्चिमेन, line 25, and ०रेमि प्रदत्ता, line 35). Of individual words the numeral त्रि has throughout been spelt तृ (in तृभाग, lines 24, 29, 30, and तृभुवन०, lines 25 and 27), समार्जन throughout सन्मार्जन⁴ (*e g*, in lines 3, 6, 8, etc.), कालीन throughout कालिन (*e g*, in lines 3, 6, 20, etc.), and similarly we have भोगाधिना in line 38, for भोगाधीना. In line 8, we twice have अग्निन for आग्निन; throughout, frequently अवासनिका, apparently for आवासनिका (*e g*, in lines 7, 8, etc.), and similarly a short vowel has been employed instead of a long one, and *vice versâ*, occasionally in other words. For पट्टि we have पट्टी twice in line 17, and perhaps also in some of the compound numerals, for ताम्बूलिक (line 15), ताम्बूलिक in lines 25 and 26, for वैश्वानर, वैश्वान्दर in line 12. Through the influence of the vernacular, we have वणिक throughout for वणिज्, भोती in line 24 for भित्ति (lines 13 and 25), सिरिधर in line 39 for श्रीधर (line 37), कल्लपाल and कल्लपाल in lines 9 and 19, for कल्पपाल, etc.

The rules of *sandhi* have been persistently neglected, and as a specimen of an extraordinary *sandhi* I may point out ०सुतारैभिः, for ०सुता एभिः, *i e*, ०सुताः एभिः, in line 35.

³ I consider it sufficient to state this and some of the following points once for all, and shall not consider it necessary to correct every error of this sort in the transcript of the text.

⁴ Compare the common समान for समान.

As regards the treatment of nouns in general, case-terminations have often been altogether omitted, sometimes wrong cases have been employed, masculine words treated as if they were neuter, and masculine or neuter forms of adjectives and pronouns used with reference to feminine nouns, etc. Thus, to give a few examples, instead of the well-known phrase परिपन्थनां करोति, we read fifteen times परिपन्थना करोति (*e g*, in lines 5, 9, 16, etc.), and similarly विधारणा करोति, lines 13 and 20, परिपन्थनावाधा करोति, line 17; परिपन्थनाख्या करोति, lines 6 and 15, and खयावाधा ददाति, line 39. In line 3 we find प्रतिष्ठापित, qualifying नारायणभट्टारकस्य, which is separated from it by other inflected words; in line 4 वावण (for वावणो) गोदासतः, in line 39 सिरिधर (for श्रीधरस्य) महादित्यसुतस्य, in line 16 अवलिप्त (for अवलिप्तो) उवटकसहितौ.⁶ The words अधिकार, आघाट, पाद, भाग, हस्त are used as neuters in lines 34, 7, 12, 13, etc., 6, 24, 29, 30, 26. In line 9 we have the Nominative स च स च for the Instrumental तेन तेन; in line 34 the Accusative समेता for the Nominative समेता; in lines 32, 33, 38, 14, 22, अस्य and अभीषाम् for the feminine forms अस्याः and अभीषाम् or आसाम्. The final *visarga* of certain case-terminations has completely disappeared, *e g*, in पातकै, lines 6, 15, 16, etc., and in हेतो, lines 20, 25, 31.⁶

An extraordinary construction of the cardinal numerals, which I have already pointed out in other inscriptions, is illustrated by शुभैक, line 20, सहस्रैक, line 28, पादैक and द्रुमैकं, line 37, वीथीद्वौ, line 16, and गृहद्वौ 'two houses,' line 24. And, speaking of numerals, attention may be drawn here to the three different expressions पञ्चमहापातकै in line 6, महापञ्चपातकै in lines 15, 16, 18, and महापातकपञ्चकै or कै: in lines 10, 27, 30, and to the strange सवत्सरसतेषु नवसत (*i.e.*, नवशत, for नवसु), meant to denote 'nine hundred years,' in lines 2, 5, 8, and 11.

The number of finite verbal forms employed is, as might have been expected in a record of the Middle Ages, small, and among them, I need point out only लिप्यति, used in a passive sense, in lines 6, 10, 15, etc. Among the verbal derivatives, there occur the wrong Gerunds लब्ध, line 6, उपर्जयित्वा, line 17, कृत्यित्वा, line 25 (for कृत्वा, lines 9, 10, 19), एकमतीभूत्वा, lines 29, 30, and 33, and लिखाय, line 38, with the last of which may be compared the primary nouns पूजापन in lines 11 and 37, and मोक्षापन in line 38. And anomalously used is the Gerund मिलित्वा in the phrase समस्तलोकाना मिलित्वा in line 26, apparently meaning 'before all the people assembled.'

Of frequent occurrence is सक्त, which thirteen times may be considered a secondary suffix conveying a possessive sense or expressing the meaning of a Genitive case, *e g*, in सीयडोणिसक्तमण्डपिकाया, line 6, वामनसक्तवीथी, line 12, चण्डसक्तावासनिका, line 32, and विग्रहपालसक्तद्रुम, line 9 (= विग्रहपालीयद्रुम, line 24), while twice it is, exceptionally, like an independent word, construed with a preceding Genitive, in यस्य यस्य सक्तमद्यभाण्ड, line 9, and समस्तकल्लपालाना सक्तहृद्धानासुपरि, line 19.

Under the head of compounds, I may point out the violation of an elementary rule of grammar, in महद्दर्शनहेतोः, line 8, महद्दर्शनार्थहेतो, line 20, महन्तधर्मार्थहेतो or हेतो: in lines 25 and 28, and महान्तधर्मार्थहेतो or हेतो: in lines 11, 29, 31, and 33, the use of phrases like दिन प्रति, line 6, for प्रतिदिन (actually used in lines 6, 10, and 28), and मासान्मास, line 20, or मासान्मास प्रति, lines 29 and 37, instead of प्रतिमास (line 45), and the employment of the Nominative cases in passages such as स्वधारजेजपस्तथा विसिन्नाकस्तथा भुञ्जिन्नाकस्तथा

⁶ *I.e.*, one case termination suffices for several nouns, as it already does, occasionally, in the Rigveda.

⁶ In केशिन्नाकार चित्तरावाह, line 4, we seem to have Apabhramṣa Nominative cases, see *Ind Ant*, vol. XVI, p. 207.

जोगूकद्रकादीनां, line 29 (and similarly in lines 7, 19, 20, 27, and 31), where, in proper Sanskrit, the formation of a Dvandva compound would have been resorted to

Moreover, the first part of the inscription contains a considerable number of words which either do not occur in Sanskrit literature at all, or for which the dictionary furnishes no appropriate meaning, and some of which undoubtedly were taken from the vernacular. These words I give in the following alphabetical list, in which I also include some words which appear to be proper names of places or localities, but about the actual meaning of which I cannot be certain ~

अक्षयनीमी in line 6, and अक्षयनीमिका in lines 7, 9, 21, etc., = अक्षयनीवि 'a perpetual endowment.'

अपसरक in अपसरकसहित in lines 7, 17, 21, and अपसरकप्राङ्गणसहित, lines 32 and 33, said of houses, etc., compare the Hindi ओसारा 'a porch, portico, peristyle, vestibule,' Maráthi ओसरी.

आवासनिका in lines 7, 8, etc., apparently for आवासनिका, derived from आवास 'a dwelling, residence.'

आहाड in समस्तआहाडसम्बद्धसिलाकूटानां in line 30; perhaps a place where stone-cutters work, a quarry (?).

उवटक in line 25, and in उवटकसहित, lines 12, 13, 16, etc., said of houses, etc., compare the Maráthi ओटा 'the little wall or raised edge which runs along the brink of the raised mass on which the house stands,' and ओटी, 'a veranda, porch, vestibule'

कसारक in कसारकवीथी, line 15, compare the Hindi कसार and the Maráthi कांसार or कासार 'a brazier,' (कास्यकार).

कंदासघूट in line 15

कन्दुक three times in line 10, compare the Hindi कान्दू 'a certain tribe whose occupation it is to fry corn, prepare sweetmeats, etc., a sugar-boiler'

क्षतोपसन्ना, qualifying वीथी, in lines 27, 35, and 38.

कौमिक in line 2, and in lines 19 and 30, both times compounded with a proper name, denoting perhaps an office.

खन्ना in परिपत्यनाखन्ना, lines 6, 10, 15, and खन्नावाधा, line 39, compare the Hindi खसर 'damages, loss, injury, fraud.'

ग्रहपतिक in line 15, probably for ग्रहपति

घ्राणक in line 28, and घ्राणक in line 31; compare the Maráthi घाणा 'an oil-mill.'

चूआ or चूआ, in चूआवीथी and चूआवीथी, lines 13 and 14.

छाया in स्वकीयस्वकीयच्छाया, lines 7 and 33

छेण्डिका in lines 8, 21, and 24

जगति in line 35, for जगती, probably a kind of building, see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, p 161, note 27.

ताली in line 9, and तालि in line 20, perhaps a particular measure of spirituous liquor.

तिखरा in तिखरावीथी, line 35.

हारोड in स्वकीयावासनिकाहारोड, line 14, हारोडनिष्कासप्रवेसक, line 32, and निष्कासप्रवेसहारोडक, line 33, compare हारकोडक 'a gate-chamber,' in the Index of the

Dvayavadāna.

नेमक in नेमकवणिक, lines 5, 11, 16, etc., and नेमकजातिवणिक, line 37; perhaps equivalent to the Hindi and Maráthi निमक 'salt'

पञ्चकुल in lines 2, 18, 29, 30, 36; an office, apparently similar to the Marāṭhī पंच or पंचाईत Compare *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XI, p. 221, l 21, and p. 242, l 9; also vol. XII, p 195, note.

पश्चिक in कक्षपालमहत्तकपश्चिकः, line 19

पालिका in line 26, and पलिका in lines 28 and 31; probably = पालि=प्रस्थ.

प्रसन्नदेवियारक in line 12.

भरण in भरण भरण प्रति, line 30; perhaps 'a load' (of stones).

मण्डपिका in lines 6, 19, 29, 30, 45; evidently some public or official building of the town. Compare *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIV, p 10, second col., line 5; and *Journ. Beng. As Soc.*, vol XXX, p. 332, last line.

महर in ताम्बोलिकमहर, line 26, compare महत्तक in कक्षपालमहत्तक, line 19, and the Hindi महर 'a chief.' Compare Dr Hultzsch, *ante*, p. 161, note 24.

सुद्रयित्वा in line 6.

सुलाइतण in line 11.

युग or युगा in युगैका देया, line 6, युगैक युगैक प्रति, line 20, and समस्तयुगानासुपरि, line 21. रसीके in line 24.

वसोपक in line 10, and विसोवक in line 26, perhaps 'the twentieth part of' or a name of a particular coin. We may compare विशोपका, which several times occurs in a copperplate inscription of the Lucknow Museum.

धारणा in lines 18 and 20; equivalent to परिपत्यना or विघ्न

वपयण in line 38, compounded with a proper name, and denoting perhaps a trade.

सिलाकूट in line 30, = शिलाकूट in verse 101 of the Śāsabāḥ inscription, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XV, p. 40, 'a stone-cutter.'

खोलीपात or खोलिकापात in lines 12, 16, 21, 23, etc., and in अवासनिकाखोलीपात and अवासनिकाखोलिकापात in lines 13, 22, and 8, and ओलीपात in lines 35 and 38.

हट्ट 'a market' in चतुहट्ट, line 15, चतुष्कहट्ट, line 35, दोमिहट्ट, lines 12, 16, 20, 21, 29, प्रसन्नहट्ट, line 13, and महत्तकहट्ट, lines 45 and 46, (also in हट्टरथ्या, lines 12, 14, etc.)

As regards the contents, the first part of the inscription is divided, by means of ornamental full-stops, into twenty-seven sections, and it records as many donations, made at different times, and almost all of them by traders and artisans, for providing the usual materials of worship of Vishnu and other deities, at the town of Siyadonī. The inscription, in fact, is a collective public copy of a series of deeds, and the occasional remarks that a certain portion was written by the *karanika*, or writer of legal documents, Sarvahari, the son of Bhochuka (line 4), another by Rachchhāka, the son of Sarvahari (line 34), another by Svāmikumāra, another son of Sarvahari (line 36), and another again by the *karanika* Dhīravarman, the son of Svāmikumāra (line 39), were copied with the rest from the original deeds, and must not be taken to refer to the inscription itself. There are some, I believe, minor points in several of the deeds here presented to us, which, owing at least in part to the ungrammatical state of the language and to the employment of obscure expressions, I do not fully understand. But the general import of the various donations is clear enough, and may be seen from the following statement, from which I omit, as of no interest, all reference to the boundaries of buildings which in the original are given with scrupulous care. Any

remarks of historical importance or of more general interest, which may be incidentally furnished by these deeds,—considering the great length of the inscription, they are disappointingly few,—will be treated of below.

Abstract of the contents of the first part of the inscription (lines 1—39).

1. [Lines 1—4] Samvat 960, Śrāvana (*in words and figures*). The whole town gave a field measuring 200 by 225 *hastas* to Śrī-Nārāyana-bhaṭṭāraka, set up by the merchant Chanduka, the son of Sangata, in the southern part of the town.

2. [4—7] Samvat 964, Mārgaśīra va di 3 (*in words and figures*). The *Mahā-sāmantādhipati* Undabhata assigned an endowment, securing the daily payment of a quarter of a *pañchīyakadramma* and of one *yugā* (?) to Śrī-Viṣṇu-bhaṭṭāraka, set up by Chanduka.

3 [7—8]: The same date. The merchants Chanduka, Sāvasa, and Māhapa, sons of Sāngata, gave an *avāsaniḥā* (or residence) comprising four houses to Śrī-Viṣṇu-bhaṭṭāraka, set up by Chanduka, the son of Sangata.

4. [8—10]: Samvat 965, Āśvina śu di. 1 (*in words and figures*). The merchant Nāgāka, son of Chāndū, made an endowment acquired of certain potters, to the effect that the distillers of spirituous liquor, on every cask of liquor, were to give liquor worth half a *vīgrahapāladramma* (?) to the god (Viṣṇu).

5. [10]: The merchant Nāgāka, son of Chāndū, assigned (an endowment securing) the daily payment by certain sugar-boilers of a *varāhakayavimsopaka* (?).

6. [11—13] Samvat 967, Phālguna va di. 15 (*in words and figures*). The merchant Vāsudeva gave (an *avāsaniḥā* ?) in the Dosihatta to Śrī-Viṣṇu-bhaṭṭāraka, set up by Vāsudeva near (?) the Śrī-Viṣṇu-bhaṭṭāraka set up by Chāndūka, and a house of his own, to the (same) god, (for the worship of the sacred fire)

7. [13—15] The merchant Chāndūka gave a *vīthi* (or shop) in the Prasannahatta; and the same Chāndūka, son of Sāngata, gave four hereditary *vīthīs* of his own to Śrī-Viṣṇu-bhaṭṭāraka.

8. [15—16]. The seller of betel Keśava, son of Vateśvara, gave a hereditary *vīthi* of his own in the Chaturhatta to Śrī-Viṣṇu-bhaṭṭāraka, set up by Chāndū.

9. [16—17] The merchant Nāgāka, son of Chāndū, gave two *vīthīs*, acquired in the Dosihatta, to Śrī-Viṣṇu-bhaṭṭāraka.

10. [17—18] The merchant Silūka, son of Mahapā, gave a *vīthi* acquired by him to Śrī-Nārāyana-bhaṭṭāraka

11. [18—20] Samvat 969, Māgha śu di 5 (*in words and figures*). The merchant Nāgāka, son of Chāndū, gave a capital of 1,350 *śrīmadādvārdhadrammas*, invested with the distillers of spirituous liquor, who were to pay every month half a *vīgrahatungīyadramma* on every cask of liquor (?) to Śrī-Viṣṇu-bhaṭṭāraka

12. [20—21]. The merchant Nāgāka, son of Chāndū, gave an endowment realizing a payment of two *kapardakas* on certain *yugās* in the Dosihatta (?).

13. [21—22] Nāgāka gave a *vīthi* acquired in the Dosihatta to Śrī-Nārāyana-bhaṭṭāraka.

14. [22—23]: Nāgāka, son of Chāndū, gave three *vīthīs* of his own to Śrī-Nārāyana-bhaṭṭāraka.

15. [23—24]: The merchant Bhāila, son of Govinda, gave a hereditary *vīthī* (realizing one-third of a *vigrahapālīyadramma* ?) to Śrī-Vāmanasvāmideva.

16. [24—25]: Nāgāka gave two houses to Tribhuvanasvāmideva.

17. [25—26]: The seller of betel Dhamāka gave an *uvafaka* bought by him to Śrī-Umāmaheśvara.

18. [26—27]: Samvat 994, Vaiśākha va.di. 5 samkrāntau. The sellers of betel, Savara, son of Keśava, and Mādihava, son of Ichohū, gave an endowment realizing the payment of a *vigrahadrammanisovaka* on every *pālīkā* of leaves to the god (Vishnu), set up by Chāndūka.

19. [27]: Sāvasa gave a *vīthī* to Tribhuvanasvāmideva

20. [27—28]: Nāgāka gave a *pālīkā* of oil from every oil-mill of the oil-makers (?)

21. [28—29]: Samvat 1005, Māgha śu.di. 5 (*in words and figures*). The Mahājans in the Doshatṭa assigned a monthly payment of one-third of a *dramma* to Śrī-Bhāilasvāmideva, set up by the merchant Vikrama

22. [29—30]: The Sātradhāra Jejapa, Viśākha, Bhaluāka, and other stone-cutters, assigned a payment of one-third of a *vigrahapālīyadramma* on every *bharana* to Śrī-Vishnu-bhattāraka.

23. [30—31]: Samvat 1008, Māgha śu.di. 11 (*in figures, only*). Keśava, Durgaditya, and other oil-makers, gave a *pālīkā* of oil from every oil-mill to Śrī-Chakrasvāmideva, set up by Purandara in the temple of Vishnu erected by Chāndū.

24. [31—33]: The merchants Mahāditya and Nohala, sons of Pappā, gave an *avāsanikā*, comprising three houses, to Śrī-Chakrasvāmideva, set up by Pappāka, the son of Dedadā.

25. [33—34]: Samvat 991, Māgha śu.di. 10 (*in figures*) Nāgāka, son of Chāndū, Dedaika, Vāli, and Rudāka, sons of Jājū, and Chihutarāka, son of Śāivā, gave an *avāsanikā* with the houses and *vīthīs* belonging to it to the god (Vishnu).

26. [34—36]: Dedaika, Vālika and Rudāka, sons of Jājū, gave a *vīthī* in the Chatushkahatṭa to Śrī-Vishnu-bhattāraka, set up by Chāndū.

27. [36—39]. Samvat 1025, Māgha va.di. 9 (*in figures*). The merchant Śīdhara, son of Mahāditya, assigned a quarter of a *śrīmadādīvarāhadramma*, paid as the rent of a *vīthī* (?) to Śrī-Vishnu-bhattāraka, set up by Mahāditya in the temple of Vishnu erected by Chāndū.

From the above abstract it will appear that most of the donations recorded here were made in favour of the god Vishnu, under the names of Vishnu-bhattāraka, Nārāyana-bhattāraka, Vāmanasvāmideva, and Chakrasvāmideva. The same divinity I understand to be denoted by the name Tribhuvanasvāmideva. But besides him, we find among the donees also Umāmaheśvara, clearly a form of the god Śiva, and Bhāilasvāmideva, a name which in a fragmentary inscription from Bhulsa, mentioned by Dr Hall in the *Journ. Beng. As Soc.*, vol. XXXI, p. 112, is distinctly given as a designation of Ravi, 'the Sun'

In connection with the objects of donation, attention may be drawn to the various names of coins mentioned in the inscription, which are as follows *Dramma*, line 29,

⁷ Compare also *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVI, p. 202—Vishnu bears the name *Vāṭṭabhaṭṭasāmin* in the Gwālior inscription, edited by Dr Hultzsch, *ante*, p. 164—In the present inscription, I would draw attention to the name *Śrī A[mba]lōhīderī*, which occurs in line 36, and which may denote a divinity [Possibly the god Bhāilasvāmin was named after the merchant Bhāila (line 23), who might have been the father of the merchant Vikrama (line 29), who founded the temple.—E H]

Pañchayaka-dramma, lines 6 and 37, *Vigrahapāla-dramma*, line 30; *Vigrahapālīya-dramma*, line 24, *Vigrahapālasatka-dramma*, line 9, and *Vigrahatungīya-dramma*, line 20, *Śrīmadādivarāha*, line 19, and *Śrīmadādivarāha-dramma*, line 37, *Varāhakaya-vimsopaka* (?), line 10, and *Vigraha-dramma-visovaka*, line 26, and *Kapardaka*, line 20, to which may be added here at once, from the second part of the inscription, *Kākinī* and *Varātakā*, in line 45.

Among the donors, the only personage of importance is Undabhata, who is described here (in line 5) as *mahāprātihāra*, *samadhigatāśeshamahāśabda*, and *Mahāsāmantādhīpati*, and who clearly is the *Mahāsāmantādhīpati* Undabhata, mentioned, with the date 960, in two short inscriptions at Terahī, a village about twenty-seven miles NW of Siyadonī. I have shown elsewhere⁶ that the date of the Terahī inscriptions must be referred to the Vikrama era, and this alone would prove that the date assigned to Undabhata's donation in the present inscription, the year 964, and together with it all the other dates, are recorded in the same era. But even irrespectively of the Terahī inscriptions, the date of the donation No. 18, in which the 6th of the dark half of the month Vaiśākha of the year 994 is coupled with a *samkrānti* or entrance of the sun into a sign of the zodiac, contains sufficient *data* to enable us to prove that the era which we are here concerned with is the Vikrama era, that the years mentioned are southern Vikrama years, and that the arrangement of the lunar fortnights followed was the *amānta* or southern arrangement. For, taking the figures 994 to denote the *southern* Vikrama year 994 *expired*, the 5th of the dark half of Vaiśākha, by the *amānta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, corresponds to Sunday, 22nd April, A.D. 938, when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended about 17h. 45m. after mean sunrise, and when, about 14h. 6m after mean sunrise, the sun *did* enter into the zodiacal sign of Vṛsha, exactly as required by the details of the date⁷. Accordingly, the donations spoken of in the inscription were made between A D 903-4 and 968-9.

From the introductory remarks to the donations Nos 11, 21, 23, and 27 (lines 18, 29, 30, and 36) we learn that the town of Siyadonī, in the year 969=A D 912-13, was held by (or, as the inscription expresses it, was in the enjoyment of) the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious Dhūrbhata, and in the years 1005=A D 948-49, 1008=A D. 951-52, and 1025=A D 968-69, by the *Mahārājādhirāja* Nishkalanka. A third personage, described, so far as one can see, as *samadhigatāśeshamahāśabda* and *Mahāsāmantādhīpati*, who appears to have held a position similar to that of Dhūrbhata and Nishkalanka, was mentioned, with the date 960=A D. 903-4, in line 2, but his name is

⁶ *Ind Ant*, vol XVII, p 201.

⁷ The possible equivalente for Vaiśākha va di 5 would be—

- (1) for the Northern Vikrama year 994 current—
 - a by the *pūrṇimānta* scheme, Wednesday, 16th March, A D 936,
 - b by the *amānta* scheme, Thursday, 14th April, A D 936,
 - and *samkrāntis* took place on 22nd March and 22nd April,
- (2) for the Northern Vikrama year 994 expired, or the southern current year—
 - a by the *pūrṇimānta* scheme, Tuesday, 4th April, A D 937,
 - b by the *amānta* scheme, Wednesday, 3rd May, A D 937,
 - and *samkrāntis* took place on 22nd April and 23rd May,
- (3) for the Southern Vikrama year 994 expired—
 - a by the *pūrṇimānta* scheme, Saturday, 24th March, A D 938,
 - b by the *amānta* scheme, Sunday, 22nd April, A D 938,
 - and *samkrāntis* took place on 22nd March and 22nd April

bhaya or Nirbhayanarendra, and that Rājasekhara in some passages of his plays now illegible. Under these nobles, the affairs of the town would seem to have been managed by an assembly of five called *pañchakula*, and by a committee of two, appointed from time to time by the town. The *Mahārājādhirājas* themselves were subordinate to, and derived their authority from, the paramount lords of the country, of whom the inscription mentions:—

In line 1, with the date 900=A.D. 903-4, the [*Paramabhaffāraka*] *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Mahendrapāladeva¹⁰ [meditating, in all probability, on the feet of the *Paramabhaffāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Bhojadeva];

In line 4, with the date 904=A.D. 907-8, again, the same *P. M.* and *P.* the illustrious Mahendrapāladeva, meditating on the feet of the *P. M.* and *P.* the illustrious Bhojadeva; and

In line 28, with the date 1005=A.D. 948-49, the *P. M.* and *P.* the illustrious Devapāla, meditating on the feet of the *P. M.* and *P.* the illustrious Kshitipāla-deva.

We are nowhere in the inscription distinctly told what was the name of the country over which these particular sovereigns held sway, or of their capital; but as the inscription, in line 40, speaks of a ruler of Mahodayā who granted a town to certain Brāhman descendants of whom lived at Sīyadoni, we shall not be wrong in assuming that Bhojadeva, Mahendrapāladeva, Kshitipāladeva and Devapāla were kings of Mahodayā, better known as Kanyakubjā (or Kanauj).

The main importance of our inscription then lies in this, that it furnishes, together with certain dates, the names of two pairs of kings of Kanyakubjā,—

Bhoja; succeeded by

Mahendrapāla, who was ruling in A.D. 903-4 and 907-8; and

Kshitipāla; succeeded by

Devapāla, who was ruling in A.D. 948-49.

Of these, I do not hesitate to identify Bhoja with the Bhojadeva of the Deogadh, Gwāhor, and Peheva inscriptions¹¹ of A.D. 862, 876, and 882.

As regards Kshitipāla, there is nothing in our inscription to show that he was the immediate successor of Mahendrapāla, but I shall try to prove that such *was* the case and that Kshitipāla, in fact, was the son of Mahendrapāla.

In an article on the date of the poet Rājasekhara,¹² Mr. Fleet has put together certain facts concerning that poet which had been already drawn attention to by Professor Fischel,¹³ and which amount to this, that one or more of the poet's plays were acted, at Mahodayā or Kanyakubjā, before a king Mahipāla, a son of a king Nir-

¹⁰ In the original, the first syllable is illegible, but there cannot be the slightest doubt about the correctness of the above name; nor is it, in my opinion, at all doubtful that the name of the sovereign on whose feet Mahendrapāla was meditating, was Bhojadeva. And these two sovereigns are clearly the same Bhojadeva and Mahendrapāla who are mentioned in the second deed, in line 4, so that the inscription speaks of only *one* Bhojadeva, and of only *one* Mahendrapāladeva.

¹¹ See *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. X, p. 101, Dr. Hultzsch, *ante*, p. 155; and Mr. Fleet in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XV, p. 109. I may draw attention here to the somewhat unusual phrase *mahā-pravardhamāna-kalyāṇa vyayadye*, which the Sīyadoni inscription has in common with, at any rate, the Deogadh inscription, and with the Asni inscription which will be mentioned below.

¹² See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVI, pp. 175-178.

¹³ See *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1893, p. 1221.

describes himself as the *guru* or *upādhyāya* of this same Nirbhaya, while elsewhere he either calls himself the *guru* of Mahendrapāla, or describes Mahendrapāla as his *śishya*. Mr. Fleet passes over Professor Aufrecht's identification of Nirbhaya with Mahendrapāla,¹⁴ the correctness of which would appear to be almost self-evident, but in identifying the poet's Mahipāla with the king Mahipāla of the Asni inscription¹⁵ of the (Vikrama) year 974, he has been the first to *prove* that Rājasekhara lived in the beginning of the tenth century A D. What was wanted to remove all possible doubt as to the correctness of Mr. Fleet's identification, was an epigraphical record in which Mahipāla is connected with Mahodayā, and which furnishes the name of Mahipāla's father, Mahendrapāla; and this want is supplied, I believe, by the present inscription, the probable importance of which Mr. Fleet has not failed to notice.

The names Mahipāla and Kshitipāla being synonymous, I now identify the Kshitipāla of the present inscription with the Mahipāla of the Asni inscription, whom from that very inscription we know to have ruled in A D. 917-18; and I consider our Mahendrapāla, for whom we have the dates A D. 903-4 and 907-8, to be Rājasekhara's Mahendrapāla, *alias* Nirbhayanarendra, the father of Mahipāla (our Kshitipāla). I also, of course, accept Mr. Fleet's statement that the Mahishapāla,¹⁶ who in the Asni inscription is described as the predecessor of Mahipāla, must be identical with Nirbhayanarendra (or, I may add, Mahendrapālā), and I am, I believe, able to show that Kshitipāla or Mahipāla,—just as his father had three names,—in all probability also was known by a third name which is preserved to us in the Khājurāho inscription of the Chandella Yaśovarman of the (Vikrama) year 1011, = A.D. 954-55. From that inscription we learn that Yaśovarman (*alias* Lakshavarman) had received a certain image of Vakuntha from Devapāla, who must have been a well-known royal personage, the son of Herambapāla, the image having previously been received by Herambapāla from Sāhi, the king of Kīra. The reign of Yaśovarman having closed (probably shortly) before A D. 954, the Devapāla spoken of in his inscription can be no other than our Devapāla of Mahodayā, for whom we have the date A.D. 948-49, and his father Herambapāla therefore in all likelihood is no other than Kshitipāla, *alias* Mahipāla.

To sum up, the names of the four sovereigns of Mahodayā or Kanyakubjā, presented to us in our inscription, together with their known dates, would be as follows —

- (1) Bhoja, A D 862, 876, and 882.
- (2) Mahendrapāla, or Nirbhayanarendra, or Mahishapāla, A.D. 903 and 907, pupil of the poet Rājasekhara.
- (3) His son Kshitipāla, or Mahipāla, or Herambapāla, A.D. 917, patron of Rājasekhara; contemporaneous with Sāhi, the king of Kīra, and (as I have tried to show *ante*, p. 121), with the Chandella Harshadeva, the father of Yaśovarman.

¹⁴ See *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1883, p. 1221.

¹⁵ First edited by Mr. Fleet in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVI, pp. 173-175.

¹⁶ I give this name on Mr. Fleet's authority. The published photolithograph would rather have induced me to conjecture Mahindrapāla (probably for Mahindrapāla, if not actually Mahendrapāla).

- (4) His son Devapāla, A.D. 948; contemporaneous with the Chandella Yaśovarman (*alias* Lakshavarman). Whether Devapāla is identical with Vijayapāla, who in an inscription from Alwār, of the Vikrama year 1016=A.D. 959-60, is described as the successor of Kshatipāla, I am unable to determine (see *Proceedings, As. Soc. Beng.*, 1870, p. 102).

I abstain for the present from any speculations on the possible predecessors or successors of these kings, but, in conclusion, I must point out that our Devapāla can have nothing to do with the Devapāla in Dr. Hörnle's list in the *Centenary Review, Beng. As. Soc.*, part II, p. 208, or in the lists of Sir A. Cunningham in *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XV, p. 149, and elsewhere.

THE SECOND PART.

On the second part of the inscription (lines 39-46), which, as I have stated above, is almost entirely in verse, I need only add a few words here. The language here, too, is Sanskrit, and it is generally more correct than in the preceding portion, but by no means free from mistakes. Thus, we find in line 42 the Ablative *हिरण्यजीवात्*, used instead of the Genitive, in line 43 *प्रदिवेस* (for *प्रदिवेश*) used in a causal sense; in line 42 the barbarous *कारापयामास*, in line 39, for the sake of the metre, *वमयु* for *वमयुः*; in line 12 the crude form *चावाण* for *चावन्*, in lines 39 and 40 offences against the metre, etc.

As regards the contents, after the words '*om, om, adoration to Ganapati,*' and two verses invoking the blessings of Gannātha and Trivikrama (Vishnu), we are told that a certain prince at Mahodayā, which is compared with Indra's town Amarāvati, once gave the town Rāyakka to some Brāhmanas, who after it were called Rāyakkabhāṭṭas. One of their descendants, named Vaśiṣṭha, happened to come on matters of business 'here', to Sīyadonī, where he dwelt near the Rāja of the place whose name apparently was Harirāja. And Vaśiṣṭha's son, Dāmodara, founded here a temple of Murāri (Vishnu), furnished it with an image of the god, provided it with a garden, and probably endowed it with funds for the worship of the deity. The concluding line would appear to say that the father of Dāmodara died in battle.

[This temple of Vishnu has since been identified by Dr. A. Führer with a large ruined shrine at the neighbouring village of Satgatto, to the NE. of Siron. Near the ruined temple is a large *baoli* or well, still in fair preservation, and the village abounds in fine statues of Vishnu,—some of which have been transferred to the Lucknow Museum—J. B.]

I have stated before that the concluding lines of the inscription are more or less damaged, and there are some passages in them which, in consequence, I fail to understand properly, but the above gives correctly the general sense of the original, and I have omitted nothing which would be of any importance to the historian.

The town Rāyakka, mentioned in the above, I am unable to identify. With the term Rāyakkabhāṭṭa we may compare Rāyakavāla, the designation of a Brāhman caste, in line 27 of the inscription of Bhīmadeva II. published in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XI, p. 71.

TEXT 17

1 श्री¹⁸ श्री नमो भग[व]ति वासुदेवाय¹⁹ [य?]²⁰
धिरा[ज?] — — — . . .²¹ [देवपा?]²² हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर[श्री]—[हेन्द्र]पालदेव-
पादा[ना]²³ म[हीप्र] -

2. वर्द्धमानकल्याणविजय — [च्ये?][स] — — [रस]तिष्ठ²⁴ नवसत पञ्चधिकेषु आव
. . . .²⁵ सम्बत् ९६० आव[ण].²⁶ गताशेषमहा[श]ब्दम[हा]सामन्ताधिपति[श्रीमदु]—[न्द्र?]
. . . .²⁷ [भु]ज्यमानस्त[त्पादाधिष्ठित][व?]. . . .²⁸ च[कु?].²⁹ [कौ]मिके श्रीपञ्च[स्था?]. . . .
. . . .³⁰ [क?] द्वाविसतिकच्छितराकयोर्वार[सतीदृसे] का[ले वर्त्तमाने वार?]प्रसु[ख?] -

3. सकलस्थानेन ससारस्थानित्यत्व बुद्ध्या³¹ पुण्ययशोभिद्व[द्व]ये स्वकीयतलसीमाप्रतिव[द्व]चेत्त[?] [पूर्वपश्चि]मतो हस्तद्विसतमात्र दक्षिणोत्तरतो वा सपादहस्तद्विसत[मात्र]च्च वणिकचण्डुकेन³² सङ्गटसुतेन प्रतिष्ठापित³³ पत्तनस्य दक्षिणदिग्विभागे पश्चिमाभिमुखश्रीनारायणभट्टारकस्याव[लेपनस]न्मा[र्ज्जना]ङ्ग-
[राग]धूपप्रदीपनैवेद्याद्यर्थं निवेदित धर्म्माय मत्वा आचन्द्रार्कक्षित्युदधिसमकालिन यावन्न कैश्चि[त्परिप-
न्यना कर्त्त?][व्या] इ[ति]

4 सकलस्थानानुमतेन वा[र]स्वहस्तायेति ॥ छ ॥ मत केसिआवार च्छितरावार साक्षिणौ
श्रुते³⁴ लिखितसाक्षि वी[दु] राच्छडपुत्रस्तथा वावण गोदासुतः ॥ लिखित स्थानानुमतेन करणिकसर्व्वहरेणा
भोचुकपुत्रेणेति ॥ ॐ ॥ परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारक-
महाराजाधिराज³⁵परमेश्वरश्रीमहेन्द्रपालदेवपादाना महीप्रवर्द्धमानकल्याण³⁶विजयराज्ये सम्बत्सरस -

5. तेषु नवसत [प*]ध्यधिकेषु चतुरन्वितेषु मार्गसिरमासवहुलपञ्चतृतीयायां सम्बत् ९६४
मार्गं वदि ३ अद्येह सीयडोणिसमावासितमहाप्रातिहारसमधिगतासेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्ताधिपति-
श्रीउन्दभट्टः॥ समस्तराजपुरुषान्वोधयति विदितमस्तु भगवतां³⁷ शस्त्रिन् पत्तने नेमकवणिकचण्डुकप्रतिष्ठा-
पितविष्णुभट्टारकस्यान्माभिः७परलोकनिश्चयसार्थ³⁸ पुण्ययशोभिद्वये यौवनधनजीवितानि नलिनीदलगतज-

6 ललवतरलतराणि लक्ष्य अच्यनीमीय निवेदिता ॥ सीयडोणिसत्कमण्डपिकाया प्रतिदिन
पश्चियकद्रमसत्कापादमेक दातव्य तथा दिन प्रति मुद्रयित्वा युगैका देया ॥ देवस्यावलेपनसन्मार्ज्जनाङ्गरागध-
पप्रदीपनैवेद्यायमाचन्द्रार्कक्षित्युदधिसमकालिन यावत्पालनीय कस्मिंश्चित्काले यः कोपि पुरुषः परिपन्यना-
खत्रा करोति उत्पादयति³⁹ स पञ्चमहापातकै लिप्यति स्वहस्तोय श्रीउन्दभट्टस्य ॥ छ ॥

¹⁷ From impressions supplied to me by the Editor.

¹⁸ Expressed by a symbol

¹⁹ Here about 8 aksharas are gone

²⁰ Here about 96 aksharas are gone.

²¹ Here about 8 aksharas are gone

²² Here about 12 aksharas are gone

²³ I have little doubt that the preceding passage origin-
ally was — ०धिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहा-
राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमहेन्द्रपालदेवपादाना, as below, line 4

²⁴ I.e., ०विजयराज्ये सबत्सरतेषु — For the following नवसत
(i.e. नवसत, 900,) one would of course expect to read नवसु
'nine,' but the dates below are given in the same way With
regard to पञ्चधिकेषु, it is difficult to say whether the actual
reading of the stone, here and below, is पञ्च० or पञ्च।

²⁵ Here about 12 aksharas are gone

²⁶ Here about 15 aksharas are gone

²⁷ Here about 5 aksharas are gone

²⁸ Here also about 5 aksharas are gone The following
aksharas च[कु?] are the remainder of पञ्चकुल

²⁹ Here about 7 aksharas are gone

³⁰ Here about 9 aksharas are gone

³¹ Read बुद्धा

³² This akshara, न, was originally omitted, and is en-
graved above the line

³³ This word, which has no case termination, qualifies the
following श्रीनारायणभट्टारकस्य

³⁴ Read either श्रुते or श्रुत

³⁵ Originally ०धिरज०

³⁶ Read ०कल्याण०

³⁷ Read सबतां

³⁸ Read ०नि श्रेयसार्थं

³⁹ One of the two verbs is superfluous, read स पञ्चमहापा-
तकैर्लिप्यति

7. वङ्गुलूद्रगणयोर्वारे वारप्रमुखस्थानेन निवेदिता अक्षयनीमिका ॥ ४४ ॥ अक्षिनेव^{४०} काले तथा चण्डुकेन सङ्गटसुतेन प्रतिष्ठापितपश्चिमाभिमुखश्रीविष्णुभट्टारकस्य समर्पिता यणिकचण्डुकस्तथा सावसस्तथा माहपा^{४१}[दिमि?]स्त्राङ्गटसुतैः स्वकीयस्वकीयच्छाया [आ]कीयअवासनिका उत्तराभिमुखान् अस्त्राभ्यन्तरे उत्तराभिमुखगृहाणि चत्वारि अपसरकसहितानि अवलितसिन्नाच्छ[त्रा]नि अवासनिकाया- [आ]घाटानि लिख्यन्ते [पूर्वे]ण र -

8. यथा दक्षिणेन चण्डुकीयावासनिकास्त्रीलिकापात पश्चिमेन सीग^{४२}नीयदेवसत्कअवासनिका उत्तरेण च्छेष्टिका मर्यादा एवं चतुराघाटचिह्नोपलक्षिता महर्षिर्महेतोः खलेपनसम्भार्जनधूपप्रदीपनैवेद्यार्थं प्रदत्ता यः कश्चित्परिपन्थना करोति स च महानरकं व्रजति ॥ मत चण्डुसावसमा^{४३}हपानां साङ्गटसुताना- मिति ॥ ४५ ॥ तथा सम्बत्सरसतेषु नवसत पञ्चपञ्चाधिकेषु अश्विनमासे प्रतिपदायां सम्बत् ९६५ अश्वि[न सु]दि १

9. वणिकनागाकेन चण्डुसुतेनापरिमितमूख्येन क्रीत्वा कुम्भकारदैवैकअइचागा[न्दू]कलिआका- दीनां अक्षयनीमिका देवस्य समर्पिता ॥ ४६ ॥ तथा समस्तकक्षपालानां मध्ये यस्य यस्य सत्कमद्यभाण्ड निःपद्यते विक्रयं याति स^{४४}च स चाचन्द्रार्क्षं यावद्विग्रहपालसत्कद्रुमार्क्षिका^{४५} ताली दातव्या ॥ यत्^{४६}चित्प- रिपन्थना करोति स नरकं व्रजति स्थानीयभूमौ ये भूये भूता^{४७} ये भविष्यन्ति कुम्भकारखलपालास्य^{४८} तैरक्षय- नीमिका पालनी -

10. या ॥ ४७ ॥ तथा वारप्रमुखस्थानसम्बद्धकन्दुकानां पार्श्वीत् कन्दुक[ना]इलभोइलतिकूदेगू[प]- स[नू]कादीनां पार्श्वीत् वणिकनागाकेन चण्डुसुतेन सम्भार्जनविलेपनधूपप्रदीपनैवेद्यार्थं अपरिमितमूख्येन क्रीत्वा कन्दुकानां प्रतिवराहकयविंसोपकैकं प्रतिदिनं वि १ आह्यमाचन्द्रार्क्षं यावद्वीक्ष्यं यत्कश्चित्परिपन्थ- नाखत्रासुत्पादयति स च महापातकपञ्चकैर्लिप्यति ॥ स्वहस्तोय ४४४४^{४९} मिति ४४ ॥

11. तथा सम्बत्सरसतेषु नव[स]त सप्त[प^{५०}]पञ्चाधिकेषु फाल्गुनमास^{५१} अमावास्यां सम्बत् ९६७ फाल्गुन यदि १५ सोयडोण्यां वारप्रमुखस्थाने अश्विभानर^{५२}सिंघयोर्वारे यथा नेमकवणिकचाण्डुकेन प्रतिष्ठापितश्रीविष्णुभट्टारकपश्चिमाभिमुखसुलाइतणदक्षिणदिग्विभागे नेमकवणिकवासुदेवेन प्रतिष्ठाय श्री- विष्णुभट्टारकं उत्तराभिमुखं महान्तधर्मार्थहेतोः पूजापनसम्भार्जनधूपप्रदीपार्थं

12. दोसिहटे पूर्व्याभिमुखावलितमाच्छत्रा उवटकसहिता देवस्य समर्पिता ॥ अस्याघाटानि लिख्यन्ते पूर्व्येण हृदरप्या^{५३} दक्षिणेन वामनसत्कवीथी पश्चिमेन स्त्रीलिकार्पतसुत्तरेण^{५४} श्रीविष्णुभट्टारकवीथी मर्यादा एवं चतुराघाटविश्रुता प्रदत्ता ॥ तथा वैस्वान्दर^{५५}पूजनार्थं वासुदे[वि^{५६}]न स्वकीयगृहं पूर्व्याभिमुख उवटकसहितं प्रदत्तं अस्याघाटानि पूर्व्येण प्रसन्नदेवियारकमर्यादा दक्षिणेन

13. वासुदेवगृहभित्तिः पश्चिमेन रथ्या उत्तरेण श्रीप्रसन्नवीथी मर्यादा एवं चतुराघाटविश्रुतं देवस्य प्रदत्तं यत्कश्चिद्वरणविधारणविधारणा^{५७} करोति स च नरकं व्रजति न संशयः^{५८} ॥ ४८ ॥ तथा यणिकचण्डू-

^{४०} Read अक्षिनेव

^{४१} This *akshara*, पा, originally was य.

^{४२} This *akshara*, आ, originally was य.

^{४३} One would expect तेन तेन.

^{४४} Read •द्रुमार्क्षिका.

^{४५} Read यत्कश्चि.

^{४६} All these *aksharas* are quite clear in the impression, but I do not understand them.

^{४७} Read कुम्भकाराक्षपालास्य.

^{४८} These signs appear to have been put in to fill up the line [Or they are meant for an actual representation of the sign-

manual; compare *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, p. 108 f — E H.]

^{४९} One expects •मासे.

^{५०} This *akshara*, र, was originally omitted, and is en- graved above the line.

^{५१} Read हृदरप्या.

^{५२} Read स्त्रीलिकापातसुत्तरेण.

^{५३} Is, वैस्वानर.

^{५४} One विधारण appears superfluous.

^{५५} The *akshara* स of this word was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line, before य.

कीयोपार्जना प्रसन्नहृदे उत्तराभिमुखा वीथी अवलिता उवटकसहिता अस्याद्याघाटानि पूर्वेण सुभादित्यस^{१८}
वीथी दक्षिणेन भट्टदेवप्रसादसत्कावासनिकासोलीपात पश्चिमेन चूआं -

14 वीथी उत्तरेण हट्टरथा मर्यादा ॥ छ ॥ तथा अपरं चाण्डूकेन साङ्गटसुतेन पितृपितामहो-
पार्जितं स्वकीय दक्षिणाभिमुख वीथीचतुष्टय अमीपामाघा[टा*]नि^{१९} लिख्यन्ते पूर्वेण चूआवीथी दक्षिणेन
हट्टरथा पश्चिमेन स्वकीयावासनिकाहारोष्ठमर्यादा उत्तरेण स्वकीयावासनिका मर्यादा एवं चतुराघाटचिह्नो-
पलक्षिता^{२०} मातापित्रोरात्मनश् पुण्ययशोभिहर्षये^{२१} परमभक्त्या श्रीविष्णुभट्टारकस्य सा -

15. सनत्वे प्रदत्त यङ्कचित्परिपय्यनाखन्या करोति स च महापञ्चपातकैल्लियति^{२२} नरकं व्रजति
॥ छ ॥ तथा [ग्र]हपतिकताम्बूलिकेशवेन वटेश्वरसुतेन पितृपितामहोपार्जितदक्षिणाभिमुखस्वकीयवीथी
चतुर्हृदे अस्याद्याघाटानि लिख्यन्ते पूर्वेण कसारकवीथी दक्षिणेन हट्टरथा पश्चिमेन केसवस्यव वीथी उत्तरेण
कदासघूटमर्यादा एव चतुराघाटविशुद्ध^{२३} चण्डूप्रतिष्ठापितपश्चि[मा]भि -

16. [सु]खश्रीविष्णुभट्टारकस्य प्रदत्ता आचन्द्रार्कं यावत्पालनीया यङ्कचित्परिपय्यना करोति स च
महापञ्चपातकैल्लियति^{२४} ॥ वीथी इय साप्रत पूर्वाभिमुखा वर्तते ॥ स्वहस्तोय केशवस्य ॥ छ ॥ तथा नेमक-
वणिकनागाकेन चाण्डूसुतेन दोसिहृदे उपार्जनां कृत्वा वीथीद्वौ २ पूर्वाभिमुखौ अवलिता^{२५} उवटकसहितौ
अनयोराघाटा लिख्यन्ते पूर्वेण हट्टरथा दक्षिणेन वासुदेववीथी पश्चिमेन सोली[पा] -

17. [त] उत्तरेण रामेवीथी मर्यादा एव चतुराघाटचिह्नोपलक्षिता श्रीविष्णुभट्टा[र*]कस्य
प्रदत्ता मातापित्रोरात्मनश् पुण्ययशोभिहर्षये यङ्कचित्परिपय्यनावाधा करोति स च पठौ वर्षसहस्राणि
पठौ^{२६} वर्षसतानि च विष्टाया जायते क्षमिः ॥ छ ॥ तथा नेमकवणिकसीलूकेन महापासुतेन उपर्जयित्वा^{२७}
वीथी दक्षिणाभिमुखापसरकसहितावलिताच्छ्र^{२८} अस्याद्याघाटानि लिख्यन्ते पूर्वेण सावसवीथी दक्षिणे-

18 न हट्टरथा पश्चिमेन श्रीशिवभट्टारकवीथी मर्यादा एवं चतुराघाटविशुद्ध^{२९} श्रीनारायणभट्टा-
रकस्य धूपप्रदीपनैवेद्यार्थं प्रदत्ता यङ्कचित्परिपय्यना करोति स च नरक व्रजति महापञ्चपातकै-
ल्लियति^{३०} ॥ छ ॥ तथा सम्बत्सरनवसतेषु एकीनसप्तत्यधिकेषु माघमासे पञ्चम्या^{३१} सम्बत् १६९ माघ शुदि
५ अद्येह श्रीमत्वीर्यडीक्षां महाराजाधिराजश्रीधू[र्भ]ट् ७७परिमुच्यमाने^{३२} तत्पादाधिष्ठितलोभुआकादि-
पञ्चकुल

19. मण्डपिकाया कौमिकरस्याकः स्थानारोपितश्रुभानरसिधयोर्वारे सतीदृसे काले वर्त्तमाने
[ने]मकवणिकनागाकेन चाण्डूसुतेन समस्तकक्षपालानां पार्श्वात् अपरिमितमूखेन क्रीत्वा कक्षपालमहत्तक-
पक्षिकः सातडस्तथा राहडस्तथा कुण्डाकस्तथा ललाकस्तथा जसकरकादीना समस्तकक्षपालानां सत्कहटा-
नामुपरि दत्तश्रीमदादी^{३३}[वरा]हपञ्चासदधिकानि सतानि त्रयोदशह्रि वराहद्र १३५० अ -

20. तोर्ये सुरभाण्ड प्रति मासाभ्यास विग्रहतुङ्गीयद्रमार्हं दातव्य तालि प्रति वि १० आचन्द्रा-
र्क्षितिकालिन धूपप्रदीपनैवेद्यार्थं श्रीविष्णुभट्टारकस्य प्रदत्त यङ्कचित्परिपय्यनावाधारणा करोति स च नरक
व्रजति ॥ छ ॥ तथा नेमकवणिकनागाकेन चाण्डूसुतेन मातगानां पार्श्वादुपार्जितं^{३४} मह[ह]मार्थाहेतो^{३५}
दोसिहृदे युगैकं युगैक प्रति कपर्दकद्वयं इय कर दातव्य मातङ्गकीवेजोहटाकस्तथा देहलाकस्तथा रडभाक-

^{१८} Probably for सुभादित्यस or सुभादित्यसक्त

^{१९} One would expect अमीपामाघाटानि or आसामाघाटानि

^{२०} One would expect here •लक्षितं or below प्रदत्ता

^{२१} Read •हर्षये.

^{२२} Read •कैल्लियति

^{२३} One would expect •विशुद्धा

^{२४} Read •कैल्लियति

^{२५} One would expect अवलिता, and below •लक्षिता, and

प्रदत्तौ.

^{२६} Read यदि वर्षसहस्राणि यदि

^{२७} Read उपार्जयित्वा, for उपार्जयं.

^{२८} Originally •लितासच्छ्र

^{२९} One would expect •विशुद्धा

^{३०} Read •कैल्लियति

^{३१} One would expect शुक्लपञ्चम्या

^{३२} Read •टपरि. Before, one would expect •हीयडीधि-
यत्तने (as in lines 29, 30, and 36), to agree with परिमुच्यमाने.

^{३३} Read श्रीमदादि.

^{३४} One would expect •पार्जितं.

^{३५} Read •हेतोर्दोषः.

21. स्तथा संकराकस्तथा येम्बराकस्तथा हेम्ब[टा]कादीनां⁷⁴ दोसिहटे समस्तयुगानामुपरि अचय-
नीमिका प्रदत्ता यक्कोपि परिपन्थना करोति स च नरकं व्रजति ॥ ❧ ॥ तथा नागाकेन दोसिहटे
उपार्जिता⁷⁵ पूर्वामिमुखा वीथी अवलिप्ता उवटकसहितास्याद्याघाटानि पूर्व्वेण हट्टरथ्या दक्षिणेन भट्टजेहरि-
वीथी पश्चिमेन खोलीपातं उत्तरेण च्छेडिका मर्यादा एव चतुराघाटविमुक्ता श्रीनारायणभट्टारकस्य स -

22. मर्षिता यक्कोपि परिपन्थना करोति स च नरकं व्रजति ॥ ❧ ॥ तथा नागाकेन
चाण्डूसुतेनात्कीयदक्षिणाभिमुखवीथीत्रय उवटकसहित अमीषां⁷⁶ आघाटानि लिख्यन्ते पूर्व्वेण शिवभट्टार-
कवीथी दक्षिणेन हट्टरथ्या पश्चिमेन श्रीमाकीयदेववीथी उत्तरेण नागासत्कअवासनिकाखोलीपात एव
चतुराघाटचिह्नोपलक्षिता विलेपनसम्भार्जनधूपप्रदीपनैवेद्यार्थं श्रीनारायणभट्टारकस्य समर्पिता

23. यक्कश्चित्परिपन्थना⁷⁷ करोति स च न[र^{*}]कं व्रजति ॥ ❧ ॥ तथा स्थानानुसर्तन
वारपपद्मयोर्व्वारे नेमकवणिकभाइलेन गोविन्दसुतेन श्रीवामनस्वामिदेवपश्चिमाभिमुखस्य पितृपितामहो-
पार्जित⁷⁸ उत्तराभिमुखा वीथी अवलिप्ता उवटकसहिता अस्याद्याघाटानि लिख्यन्ते⁷⁹ पूर्व्वेण सीगासत्कदेव-
वीथी दक्षिणेन खोलीपात पश्चिमेन पुन⁸⁰ सीगासत्कदेववीथी उत्तरेण हट्टरथ्या मर्यादा एव चतुराघाट-
चिह्नोप-

24. लक्षिता धूपप्रदीपनैवेद्यार्थं प्रदत्ताचन्द्रार्ककालिन यावत् रसीके विग्रहपालीयद्रुमभूतभाग⁸¹ तृ १
देवस्य दातव्यं यक्कोपि परिपन्थना करोति स च नरकं व्रजति ॥ ❧ ॥ तथा नागाकीयउपार्जना पूर्वा-
भिमुखी गृहद्वी अवलिप्तौ अपसरकसहितौ अस्याद्याघाटानि⁸² पूर्व्वेणाकासभोगप्राङ्गण दक्षिणेन
वामनगृहभीती पश्चिमेन खोलीपात उत्तरेण च्छेडिका मर्यादा एव चतुराघाट -

25. चिह्नोपलक्षिता सम्भार्जनविलेपनगन्धधूपप्रदीपार्थं प्रदत्त तृभुवनस्वामिदेवस्य⁸³ यक्कश्चित्प-
रिपन्थना करोति स च नरकं व्रजति ॥ ❧ ॥ तथा नागाकीयउपार्जनाया उत्तराभिमुख⁸⁴ उवटक ब्रा[ह्म]ण-
ताखोलिकधर्माकेन कथित्वा महन्तधर्मार्थहेतो⁸⁵ श्रीउमामहेश्वरस्य प्रदत्त अस्याघाटानि पूर्व्वेण शिवभट्टारक-
वीथी दक्षिणेन स्वगृहभित्ति⁸⁶ पश्चिमेन शिवभट्टारकवीथी उ -

26. त्तरेण हट्टरथ्या मर्यादा एव चतुराघाटविशुद्ध यत्परिपन्थना करोति स नरकं व्रजति ॥ ❧ ॥
सम्भत् ११४ वैसाख वदि ५ सक्रांती⁸⁷ चण्डूकीयदेवस्य इह निवासी ताम्बोलिकमहर सवर केसवासुतस्तथा
भाधव इच्छसुत⁸⁸ समस्तलोकाना, मिलित्वा अचयनीमिका प्रदत्ता पर्णपालिकां प्रति विग्रहद्रुमविसोवकं
विसोवकं प्रदत्त वि १ आचन्द्रार्ककालिन भोक्तव्यमिति⁸⁹ ॥ स्वहस्तं सवरमाधवयोः ॥ ❧ ॥

27. [त]था सावसकीय दक्षिणाभिमुखा वीथी अवलिप्ता⁹⁰ उवटकसहिता कृतोपसम्भा अस्याघा-
टानि⁹¹ पूर्व्वेण सीगाकीयदेववीथी दक्षिणेन हट्टरथ्या पश्चिमेन खोलीवीथी⁹² उत्तरेण खोलीपात एव चतुराघाट-
विशुद्धं विलेपनसम्भार्जनधूपप्रदीपनैवेद्यार्थं तृभुवन⁹³ स्वामिदेवस्य प्रदत्ता यक्कोपि परिपन्थना करोति स
महापातकपञ्चकै⁹⁴ लिप्यति ॥ ❧ ॥ तथा नागाकीयउपार्जना⁹⁵ तैलिकवीडु तथा नारायणस्तथा ना-

⁷⁴ Originally •कादिनां,

⁷⁵ Originally उपार्जितं

⁷⁶ One expects अमीषां or आसां

⁷⁷ Originally •पन्थना, read •चित्परिपन्थना,

⁷⁸ One expects •पार्जिता

⁷⁹ Read लिख्यन्ते

⁸⁰ Read पुनः

⁸¹ Read •निर्माणं वि.

⁸² One would expect here चतुराघाटानि, and below

•सचिमी andप्रदत्तौ.

⁸³ Read तृभुवनं

⁸⁴ One expects •मुखं.

⁸⁵ Read •हेतोः.

⁸⁶ Read •भित्ति

⁸⁷ Read सक्रांती

⁸⁸ One expects the Instrumental case, here and before

⁸⁹ Read भोक्तव्यमिति

⁹⁰ Read अवलिप्ता

⁹¹ One would expect here अस्या आघाटानि, and below •विशुद्धा

⁹² This akshara, धी, was originally omitted, and is en-
graved above the line

⁹³ Read तृभुवनं.

⁹⁴ Read •कैलिप्यति.

⁹⁵ Read उपार्जना

28. गदेवस्तथा महसोणः समस्ततैलिकानां घ्राणकं घ्राणकं प्रतिदिनं⁹⁸ महन्तधर्मार्यहेतोः तैलपलिका प्रदत्ता ॥ ॐ ॥ परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीचित्तिपालदेवपादानुध्यात७७⁹⁹रम-भट्टार[क*]महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीदेवपालपादानां महीप्रवर्द्धमानकल्याणविजयराज्ये सखत्तराणां सहस्रैक पञ्चोत्तर माघमासशुक्लपक्षपञ्चम्या सम्बत् १००५ माघ शुदि ५ अद्येह

29 श्रीमत्सीयडोणपत्तने महाराजाधिराजश्रीनिष्कलङ्क७७⁹⁹रिभुज्य[मा*]ने मण्डपिकायां सीहपादिपञ्चकुल स्थानानुमतेन पाह्मदेदेकयोर्वारे सतीदृसे काले वर्त्तमाने दोसिहटे समस्तमहा-जनेन एकमतीभूत्वा महान्तधर्मार्यहेतोर्वणिक्कविक्रमेन⁹⁹ प्रतिष्ठापितश्रीभाइलस्वामिदेवस्य प्रदत्तं मासान्नासं प्रति द्रम्मस्य तृभाग¹⁰⁰ तृ १ देयमिति ॥ ॐ ॥ तथा सूत्रधारजेजपस्तथा विसिआकस्तथा भलुआकस्तथा जो[गू]-

30. [क]द्रकादीना समस्तआहाडसम्बडसिलाकूटानां¹ एकमतीभूत्वा श्रीविष्णुभट्टारकस्य भरण भरण प्रति विग्रहपालद्रम्मस्य तृभाग¹ तृ १ अचन्द्राककालिन यावज्जीव्य यक्षश्चित्परिपन्थना करोति स च महापातकपञ्चकैर्लिप्यति ॥ ॐ ॥ तथा सम्बत् १००८ माघ शुदि ११ अद्येह सीयडोणपत्तने महाराजा-धिराजश्रीनिष्कलङ्कस्तत्पादाधिष्ठितपुरदरादिपञ्चकुल मण्डपिकायां कौमिकमाधवः स्थानाधिष्ठिततुण्डि-प्रद्युम्नयोर्वारे

31. इहाधिष्ठाने चण्डूप्रतिष्ठापितश्रीविष्णुभट्टारकायतने पुरन्दरेण प्रतिष्ठापितपश्चिमाभिमुख-श्रीचक्रस्वामिदेवस्य दीपतैलार्थे इह निवासी तैलिकानां केसवस्तथा दुर्गादित्यस्तथा के[सु]लाक उजोणिक तुण्डिआकादीना¹ महान्तधर्मार्यहेतो¹ घाणकघाणक प्रति तैलपलिका प्रदत्ता यक्षश्चित्परिपन्थना करोति स च नरक व्रजति ॥ ॐ ॥ तथा पूर्वसूचित नेमकवणिकपप्पाकेन देदडासुतेन यगतिष्ठापित श्री[च] -

32. क्रस्वामिदेव[स्य] वणिकमहादित्यनोहलाभ्यां पप्पासुताभ्यां [आत्मीया]वासनिका उत्तरा-भिमुखास्याभ्यन्तरे उत्तराभिमुखानि¹ गृहाणि त्रीणि ३ अपसरकप्राङ्गणसहितावलिमानि अस्याघाटानि¹ पूर्वेण रथ्या दक्षिणेन खोलीपात पश्चिमेन चाण्डूसत्कावासनिका उत्तरेण द्वारोष्ठनिष्कासप्र[वे]सक मर्यादा एव चतुराघाटचिह्नोपलक्षिता विलेपनसन्मार्जनधूपप्रदीपनैवेद्यार्थं प्रदत्त यक्षश्चित्परिपन्थना करोति स च नरक [व्र] -

33 जति ॥ स्वहस्तोय महादित्यनोहलयोः ॥ ॐ ॥ तथा पूर्वसूचित स[म्बत्] ९९१ माघ शुदि १० नगाकः⁷ वाण्डूसुतस्तथा [दि*]दैकस्तथा वालिस्तथा रुदाक जाजूसुतास्तथा च्छित्तराकः सावासुत एकम-तीभूत्वा स्वकीयस्वकीयच्छाया महान्तधर्मार्यहेतो¹७पूर्वाभिमुखा अवासनिका अपसरकप्राङ्गणसहिता अस्या-घाटानि¹ पूर्वेण निष्कासप्रवेसद्वारोष्ठक दक्षिणेन विषयणकहूपसत्कावासनिका पश्चिमेन कविलासत्क[अवा]-

34. सनिका उत्तरेण सावससत्कअवासनिका मर्यादा एव चतुरा[घा]टविशुद्धा अस्याभ्यन्तरे समस्तगृहसमेतां समस्तवीथीसमेता च देवस्य प्रदत्ता यक्षोपि वि[धृ?]⁹ करोति स चालीयपुरुषचयं नरक नयति यक्षोपि वीथीषु प्रवसति स च गोष्ठिभावित भाटक ददाति दायदस्या[धि]कार नास्ति स्वहस्तोयं नागादेदेवालीरुदाकादीना मत लिखित सर्व्वह[रि*]पुत्रेण रच्छाकेन ॥ ॐ ॥ तथा देदैकस्तथा वालीकस्त[था]

⁹⁸ In my opinion, one would expect either प्रति प्रतिदिन, or only प्रति, see below, line 31

⁹⁹ Read ०ध्यातपरम०

⁹⁹ Read ०खडपरि०

⁹⁹ Read विक्रमेण

¹⁰⁰ Read विभाग वि

¹ One would expect here the Instrumental case

² Read विभाग वि १ आच०

³ Here again I should have expected the Instrumental

⁴ Read ०हेतीर्वा०

⁵ Originally उत्तरीनि०

⁶ Comparing line 7 above, one would expect here अवास-निकायाघाटानि, and below प्रदत्ता

⁷ Read नागाकः चाण्डू०

⁸ One would expect here अस्याघाटानि, and below अस्या-भ्यन्तरे समस्तगृहसमेता समस्तवीथीसमेता च

⁹ The akshara in brackets looks rather like वध, or वध (or दध)

35 तथा¹⁰ रुदाक जाजूसुतारेभि¹¹ प्र[दत्ता] चण्डुप्रतिष्ठापितपश्चिमाभिमुखश्रीविष्णुभट्टारकस्य चतुष्कहटे¹² पश्चिमाभिमुखा वीथी अवलिप्ता उवटकसहिता कृतोपसन्ना अस्याघाटानि लिख्यन्ते¹³ पूर्व्वेण [श्री]लीपात दक्षिणेन श्रीअ[म्ब]लीहीदेविजगति७पश्चिमेन हट्टरथा उत्तरेण तिखरावीथी मर्यादा¹⁴ एवं चतुराघाटविमुद्धा विलेपनसन्मर्जन¹⁵ धूपप्रदीपनैवेद्यार्थं प्रदत्ता [यङ्क] -

36. दित्परिपन्थना करोति स च नरकं घोरं व्रजति पितृपितामहैस्सह ॥ स्वहस्तोय देदेवाली- रुदाकादीनां सम्मतं लिखितं स्नामिकुमारणं सर्व्वहरिसुतेनेति ॥ ❧ ॥ सस्वत् १०२५ माघ वदि ९ अद्योह सोयडोग्णिपत्तने महाराजाधिराजश्रीनिष्कलङ्कपरिभुज्यमाने तत्पादाधिष्ठितकेशवराजादिपञ्चकुलं स्थानानुमतेन पाह्मदेदेकयोर्व्वारे सतीदृसे काले इहाधिष्ठाने द -

37. [चि]णि दिग्विभागे चाण्डुप्रतिष्ठापितपश्चिमाभिमुखश्रीविष्णुभट्टारकस्यायतने नेमकजाति- वणिकमहार्हादित्येन पेपेसुतेन प्रतिष्ठापितपूर्वाभिमुखश्रीविष्णुभट्टारकस्य वणिकश्रीधरेण महादित्यसुतेन विले- पनसन्मार्जनपूजापनधूपप्रदीपनैवेद्यार्थं श्रीमदादी¹⁶ वराहद्रुमस्य पादैकं प्रदत्त एतदर्थं मासान्मासं प्रति दीयमान पश्चियकद्रुमैकं सास -

38 [न] लिखितं अङ्के पट्ट १ एतदर्थं [सा] च वीथी [नागासक्ता] दक्षिणाभिमुखा उवटकसहिता कृतोपसन्ना भोगाधिना तिष्ठति अस्याघाटानि¹⁷ लिख्यन्ते पूर्व्वेण श्रीशिवभट्टारकवीथी दक्षिणेन हट्टरथा पश्चिमेन सीलुकवीथी उत्तरेण श्रीलीपात मर्यादा एवं चतुराघाटविमुद्धा अस्या वीथ्या मोचापनकाले अपरवीथी अनुरूपा¹⁸ सासने लिखाप्य मोक्तव्या आचन्द्रार्कं -

39 चित्तिकालिन यावद्भो[क्तव्य] यङ्कयि[त्स्वयावाधा?][ददाति] स च महान्त नरकं व्रजति मत सिरिधर महादित्यसुतस्य लिखितं करणिकधीरवर्मणा¹⁹ स्नामिकुमारसुतेनेति ॥ ❧ ॥ श्री²⁰ श्री नमो गणपतये । व्रतु²¹ वो गणनाथस्य हस्ताक्षेपवमयवः । विघ्नं रेणुं चितेः चिप्रं विन्दुभिर्जलदा इव ॥ योसौ²² [च]- क्ताम धात्री गिरिकुहरसरित्सागरानूपरम्या पादेनैकेन कृत्स्ना वलिच्छलनव -²³

40 [शा*]न्मूर्ति[मास्या]य [ङ्क]स्त्रा । स्वर्गा[म्ब]भाम²⁴ साक पवनप[ध]गणैर्भा[नुचन्द्र]ग्रहाभ्यैः सोव्यान्विक्रमो व[स्तु]²⁵ तयपदपद्यो यस्य देवैर्न लब्धः²⁶ ॥ महोदयामरावत्या²⁷ मनुष्येन्द्रेण धीमता । रायकं नाम नगरं ब्राह्मणेभ्यो²⁸ ददे किल ॥ रायकभट्टा इति ते ख्याति प्राप्ता महीतले । दातारः शत्रुजेतारो विद्वांसो सुवह्नुयुताः²⁹ ॥ तेषां³⁰ प्र -

41. तीतकुलसततिसुप्रसूतियारित्र[चा]रधनधैर्ययुतो व[शि]ष्ठः । शिष्टप्रहर्षजनकः स कलौ [वभूव]³¹ सद्भावभावपरिभावितचित्तवृत्तिः ॥ ³²शुभ्रास्ततु[ल्यैर्भ]वनैर्व्विरा[जि]ताल्लैलासयुक्तादिव शुद्धका- धिपः । द्रव्यङ्गही[त्वा] किल मातृयानकालेनापि कार्येण चरन्निहागतः ॥ ³³तेना[स्मि]न्नगरीन्द्रकंदरमुखे दृष्टो नृपः शिखर³⁴[च्छ्री]मद्राजकुले[भ] -

¹⁰ This is wrongly repeated here

¹¹ Read रुदाको जाजूसुता एभि

¹² Read ०६६

¹³ Read (अस्या घाटाटानि) लिख्यन्ते

¹⁴ Read मर्यादा

¹⁵ Read ०सन्मार्जन०

¹⁶ Read श्रीमदादि०

¹⁷ One would expect अस्या घाटाटानि

¹⁸ Read चतुरपा

¹⁹ Originally ०वर्मणा

²⁰ Expressed by a symbol

²¹ Metre, Sloka (Anushtubh)

²² Metre, Anushtubh

²³ Read वशि, the second syllable of this word is used as a short syllable, notwithstanding the following च्छ; and

in the following line य is used as a short syllable before the conjunct ङ

²⁴ Read स्वर्ग [वभाम]

²⁵ Read वसि०

²⁶ Read लब्धः

²⁷ Metre, Sloka (Anushtubh), and of the next verse.— Originally ०मरावरावत्या

²⁸ Read ब्राह्म०

²⁹ Read सुवह्नु०

³⁰ Metre, Vasantatilakā

³¹ Read वभूव०

³² Metre, Indravamśā

³³ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

³⁴ Read सिङ्ग०

sign, is fourteen times formed on the line, with the following consonant (or consonants) below it; e.g., in *arthinah*, line 8, *sarvveshām*, line 9, *niryayuh*, line 10, *Kuladīpakṣitī*, line 14, *Vahurāpaśarmā*, line 15, &c. The language is Sanskrit, and excepting the introductory *om namah*, and the names in lines 13-15, the inscription is in verse. In respect of orthography, I need only note that *ḍ* is throughout written by the sign for *ṣ*; that *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, is doubled, except where it is preceded by *s*, e.g., in *puttram ttrayt*, line 9, and *chittram ttravidya*, line 11; that the guttural nasal has been employed instead of the *anusvāra*, in *śiṅha*, line 1; and that the rule of *sarīdhī* has not been observed in *-samvidhi*, line 12.

The inscription records (v. 15) the erection of a building for Brāhmanas familiar with the three *Vedas*, by a personage named Harivarman, and surnamed the illustrious Mamma (vv. 4 and 18), the son of Haridatta (v. 2); and it gives (ll. 13-15) the names of six Brāhmanas who appear to have been the first occupants. Harivarman, we learn from vv. 18 and 14, had a son named Takshadatta who was killed in battle, and in memory of whom the building would seem to have been erected.

The inscription is not dated; but judging from the style of the characters, and from the fact that Haridatta, the father of Harivarman, (in v. 2) is said to have been raised to eminence by the illustrious Harsha, whom I take to have been the well-known ruler of Kanauj,¹ it may be assigned with some certainty to about the latter half of the seventh century A.D.

The most interesting piece of information, furnished by this inscription, is contained in verse 15, from which it appears that the place where the inscription originally was put up, and which now bears the name of Kudārkoṭ, at the time when the inscription was composed, was called Gavīdhumat. This name has hitherto been met with only in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*,² in a passage which says that 'Sāmkāśya is four *yojanas* distant from Gavīdhumat.' Sāmkāśya has by Sir A. Cunningham been identified with the modern Sankisa, a village in the Farukhābād District of the North-Western Provinces, situated 86 miles north by west from Kudārkoṭ, 11 miles south-south-east from Algañj in the Āzamnagar Pargana of the Itāwā district and 40 miles north-north-east from Itāwā, in lat. 27° 19½' N., long. 79° 20' E. Kudārkoṭ (Kuṭṭārkoṭ?) itself is a village and ruins in the Bīdhūnā or Bidhaunā tahsil in lat. 26° 49' N., long. 79° 27½' E.

TEXT.³

1.

भौ नमः ॥

'सन्निहितनीलकण्ठा नितम्ब(स्व)तटशोभिनी ससिङ्गगुहा' ।

जयति प्रासेयाचक्षुर्वि दुर्गा सदा सुसुखा ॥ —v. 1.

'आसीच्छीहरिदत्ताख्यः

¹ According to the *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol VIII, p 320, 'tradition asserts that an underground passage connected Kudārkoṭ with Kanauj' [See *Gazetteer of North-Western Provinces*, vol. IV, p 365, where an attempted transcript and translation of this inscription is given —J B]

² See my edition, vol I, p 455, गवीधुमतः सांकाशं चत्वारि योजनानि.

³ From an impression supplied by the Editor.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Motro, Āryā.

⁶ Read ससिङ्गगुहा.

⁷ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

KUDARKOT INSCRIPTION.

[illegible]

Scale 03

- 2 ख्यातो हरिर्वापरः ।
 श्रीहर्षेण समुत्कर्षे नीतोपि विहृतो न यः ॥ —2.
⁹अविचलितरत्नसंचयमक्षोभितभूष्टदवष्टतभुजङ्ग¹⁰ ।
 पुरुषोत्तमस्य विसदृशमासी -
3. लक्ष्मणार्जनं¹¹ यस्य ॥ —3.
¹¹तस्याभवत्सुतनयो हरिवर्धनामा श्रीमन्म इत्यपरनामकृतप्रतीतिः ।
 यस्मिन्नुवावि तपत्यखिलस्त्रव(व)भुस्त्रीवक्त्रपङ्कजवनानि विकासमीयुः ॥ —4.
4. ¹²यस्याद्यापि हतारातिमन्दिरोद्यानपादपान् ।
 दावव्याजेन दहति प्रकाम कोपपावकः ॥ —5.
¹³विशालवक्षःफलकाभिलक्ष्यप्ररुढखड्गव्रणसन्निवेशाः ।
 अनेकसंय -
5. द्विजयादुसंख्या निखातरेखा इव यस्य रेजुः ॥ —6.
¹⁴सरामयापि यस्यासीद्वयं द्रष्टु न पारित ।
 यत्पृष्ठमरिवाहिन्या यश्च वक्षः परस्त्रिया ॥ —7.
¹⁵प्रजापतिं निर्मित -
6. सप्तसागरचक्रमाधरं यो लघयन्सिद्धयया ।
 महाङ्गदानम्बु(म्बु)निधीनकल्पयत्पुराधिवासानचलाय कोटिशः ॥ —8.
¹⁶महान्तः कर्कशात्मानो व(व)हमूला अपि चितौ ।
 सावन्न -
7. माञ्जया येन नतिं नीता महीभृतः ॥ —9.
 स्वप्रासादमहाभारगुरुभूततनोरिव ।
 यः कूपखननव्याजैस्त्रिरा भूमेरमोचयत् ॥ —10.
 मार्गणाभिमुखा लुब्धा(ब्धा)स्त्रमेताः
 फलकाङ्गया ।
 विसुखा येन रिपवः कृता न पुनरर्थिनः ॥ —11.
 लोके प्रथयतापूर्वं व्यवहारेषु कौशल ।
 येनार्थित्वमगत्वेव जिताः प्रत्यर्थिनः सदाः¹⁷ ॥ —12.
 जनयामास
9. यः पुत्रं ज्योतिरक्षणेदीक्षितं ।
 श्रीतक्षदत्तनामानं नमितारिशिरोधर ॥ —13
¹⁸सर्वेषामभयप्रदेन सहजास्त्रन्तस्तथानेकशो युद्धेनेन यशोर्थिना तृणमिव त्यक्ता
- 10 इत्युच्चैःपरिहृष्टमन्यव इव प्राप्यावसानान्तरं लब्धा(ब्धा)स्त्रव्रणरन्ध्रनिर्गमपथा यस्यासवो निर्ययुः ॥ —14
 वयं केव[ल]¹⁹ ।

⁹ Metre, Āryā.
¹⁰ The three *akṣharas* वष्टव are quite clear in the impression, but they offend against the metre and yield no suitable sense I would suggest reading ०भदनादुत्तमुजङ्ग

¹¹ Read ०क्षार्जनं.

¹² Metre, Vasantatilakā.

¹³ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

¹⁴ Metre, Upendravajrā

¹⁵ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

¹⁶ Metre, Upendravajrā.

¹⁷ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh), and of the next four verses

¹⁸ Read सदा

¹⁹ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

²⁰ Possibly केवला, i.e., केवला.

- ²⁰रस्ये गवीधुमति संततवेदविद्याव्याख्यान -
11. घोषव(व)धिरौकतदिक्षुखेक्षिन् ।
उच्चैरचीकरदुरुस्थिरचारुचिह्नं नैविद्यमन्दिरसुदारमिदं स साधुः ॥ —15.
यावदुणाशशिकरा इव तस्य लोकमाङ्गादयन्ति
12. हतसान्द्रतमस्त्रमूहाः ।
एतद्वि(हि)जातिभवनं भुवनाभिराममव्याहतादिकृतसम्बिधि²¹ तावदास्तां ॥ —16.
²²भद्रेणैते रचिता वामनतनयेन सुचरितश्लोकाः ।
13. ऐशानिनापि लिखिता[:*] सूत्रघृता देवदेवेन ॥ ॐ ॥ —17.
व(व)हृचचरणे साङ्गत्यसगोत्रस्त्र्युदत्तपुत्री महासेनदत्तः ।
अध्वर्युचरणे वत्ससगोत्रः
14. गोवत्ससोमपुत्री जातवेदसोमः ।
छन्दोगचरणे कुल्लसगोत्रः कुलदीपकीर्तिपुत्रः वैश्वानरकीर्तिः ।
व(व)हृचचरणे वासिष्ठसगोत्रः उदैत[ध]रपुत्रः
15. श्रीचन्द्रधरः ।
अध्वर्युचरणे श्रीपसन्ववसगोत्री वसुस्वामिपुत्रः व(व)हृरूपशर्मा ।
²³छन्दोगचरणे गालवसगोत्री धृतिगुप्तस्वामिपुत्रः ²⁴.
16. ²⁵एतै(तै)र्महत्तमै[:*] श्रीमद्यैविद्याज्ञानुपालनैः []*
कारितं धाम धर्मस्यै[:*] श्रीमन्मस्य स[माश्रय]या ॥ ॐ ॥²⁷ —18.

TRANSLATION.

Om! Adoration!

(Verse 1.) Ever triumphant is the handsome-faced Durgā, who, approached by the blue-necked (*Śiva*), shining with her broad hips, (and) accompanied by the lion and by Kārttikeya,²⁸ is like the range of the snowy mountain, which is frequented by peacocks, beautified by broad ridges, (and) full of caves of lions!

(2) There was (a personage) named the illustrious Haridatta, famous like a second Hari, who, although raised to eminence by the illustrious Harsha, was not (thereby) changed for the worse.

(3.) His acquisition of fortune, at which no hoard of precious stones was disturbed, no prince agitated, (and) no notice taken (?) of dissolute people, was different from the acquisition of fortune by Vishnu.²⁹

(4) He had an excellent son, named Harivarman, widely known, by his other name, as the illustrious Mamma, at (the sight of) whom the faces of all women of his kin became radiant (with joy), just as the groups of lotuses expand before the shining sun

²⁰ Metre, Varāntatūlakā, and of the next verse.

²¹ Read ०संविधि

²² Metre, Āryā

²³ Perhaps छान्दोग्ये.

²⁴ Here about five akṣharas are broken away or injured.

²⁵ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

²⁶ These two akṣharas are illegible

²⁷ There appear to be traces of some akṣharas after this stop, but nothing is legible

²⁸ The lion is the vehicle of Durgā, Kārttikeya her son

²⁹ *scil.*, when the ocean, the mine of jewels, was disturbed, when the mountain Mandara was used as churning stick, and when the serpent Vasuki was put in requisition

(5.) The fire of his anger even now, in the guise of a forest conflagration, fiercely burns the trees in the gardens of the habitations of the enemies slain (*by him*).

(6.) On his expanded broad breast shone, clearly visible, multitudes of healed-up sword-wounds, like numbers engraven (*there*) to mark his victories in many battles.

(7.) The army of the enemy and the wives of others, however anxious they might be, two things of his they never were able to see, the one—his back, the others—his breast.

(8.) In his desire of creating, putting into the shade the Creator who had made seven oceans and seven mountains, he built tanks large as seas and habitations of the gods immoveable like mountains, by billions.

(9.) Disdainfully by his command he bent low great hard-hearted rulers,³⁰ though they had struck root in the soil

(10.) Pretending to dig wells, he opened the veins of the earth, the body of which had as it were become heavy with the great weight of the edifices (*erected*) by him.

(11.) He turned back the enemies who, facing his arrows, eager in their desire for gain, encountered him, but not the suppliants who, intending to beg, approached him, anxious to secure his benefactions.

(12.) Making known the world over his unprecedented skill in contests, he, without becoming a plaintiff, always defeated his opponents.

(13 and 14.) He begat a son devoted to the preservation of the three *Vedas*, named the illustrious Takshadatta, who bent down the necks of his enemies, whose vital spirits,—highly enraged as it were because they alone, though they were his own, should so often, when he was seeking glory in battle, be renounced by him like worthless straw, (*by him*) who to all (*others*) granted safety,—when they found an opportunity of leaving him, departed, using as their way of exit the open wounds (*inflicted*) by the weapons (*of adversaries*).³¹

(15.) In this pleasant Gavidhumat, where the quarters of the heavens are deafened by the noise of the constant explanation of vedic lore, that good man³² caused to be erected this noble, wide, firm, charming, and wonderful home for Brāhmanas familiar with the three *Vedas*

(16.) As long as his excellent qualities, like the rays of the moon dispelling the mass of intense darkness, delight the world, so long may this abode of the twice-born, pleasing the world, last, without disturbance of the arrangements first made for it!

(17.) These verses on noble conduct were composed by Bhadra, the son of Vāmana; written were they by the artizan³³ Devadeva, the son of Īśāna.

(L. 13.) Mahāsenadatta, the son of Sūryadatta, of the *gotra* of Sāmkritya, belonging to the Bahvriha-school.

Jātavedasoma, the son of Govatsasoma, of the *gotra* of Vatsa, belonging to the Adhvaryu-school.

Vaiśvānarakīrti, the son of Kuladīpakīrti, of the *gotra* of Kuhala,³⁴ belonging to the Ohhandoga-school.

³⁰ महीभट, the word for 'rulers,' also means 'mountains'

³¹ i. e., Takshadatta died in battle.

³² viz., Mamma, the father of Takshadatta.

³³ स्वधर्त for स्वधर्त, is not given in the dictionaries

³⁴ The dictionaries give कौशल and कौशल, but not कुशल

Śrichandradhara, the son of Udaitadhara (?), of the *gotra* of Vāsishṭha, belonging to the Bahvṛicha-school.

Bahurūpaśarman, the son of Vasusvāmin, of the *gotra* of Aupamanyava, belonging to the Adhvaryu-school.

.....(?),²⁵ the son of Dhṛitiguptasvāmin, of the *gotra* of Gālava, belonging to the Chhandoga-school.

(V. 18.) By these distinguished (*men*), who keep the commands of the holy three *Vedas* (*and*) abide in the law, (*this*) home was caused to be established at the command(?) of the illustrious Mamma.²⁶

XXIII.—THE PEHEVA INSCRIPTION FROM THE TEMPLE OF GARIBNĀTH.

By G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined edition of the inscription from the temple of Garibnāth at Pehoa or Peheva in the Karnāl District has been prepared according to an excellent paper impression by Mr C. J. Rodgers, furnished to me by the editor¹

The inscription is incised on a stone slab, measuring twenty-seven inches by sixteen, and contains seventeen lines, the last of which is much shorter than the others. The technical execution is good and the preservation fair. Though the first signs of lines 8—17 have suffered more or less, and though there are several deep holes and numerous slight abrasions in the middle, the whole of the text can be restored with perfect certainty, except three or four letters in line 7, and two very important words in line 8, the letters of which are only very slightly damaged. The want of success in the latter case may, however, be my fault. The characters of the inscription show the type of the ordinary northern Nāgarī alphabet of the ninth century. The language is rather incorrect Sanskrit prose which clearly shows the influence of the vernacular of the day. The mistakes have been discussed in detail in the notes to the translation. As regards the spelling, no distinction is made between *ḍa* and *ṣa*, and the latter sign, as in most inscriptions from Northern India, does duty for both. There are also a few other peculiarities, such as the constant spelling *samvatsara* instead of *samvatsara* which may be explained by the ordinary mode of pronunciation.

The object of the inscription is to record the fact that certain pious horse-dealers who met at the horse-fair held at Pehoa—Prithūdaka on the fourteenth day of the half month preceding the bright half of Vaiśākha, agreed to impose upon themselves and upon their customers certain taxes or tithes, the proceeds of which were to be distributed among some temples, priests and sanctuaries, in proportions duly specified. The names of these worthies are given at great length in lines 2—8. They were thirty-three or thirty-four in number and belonged to the towns or villages of Chātavarshika

²⁵ The name is illegible

²⁶ [While this paper was in the press a translation appeared in the *J As Soc Beng*, vol LVII, pp 77 ff, by Dr. A. Führer—J. B.]

¹ Dr Rajendralal Mitra has given his reading and translation of ll 1—8, in *Four As Soc Beng*, vol XXII, pp 673 ff. He has also published a facsimile of these eight lines, *ibidem*, vol XXXII, p 96, which seems to have been prepared according to a very inferior impression or rubbing.

Utpalika, Chikkariselavanapura, Valadevapura, Śārāṅkadika, Siharudukkaka, or possibly Siharuddhakkaka, Traighātaka, Ghamghaka and Aśvala-Uhovaka. It is expressly stated in line 8 that these places lay in "various countries," and this circumstance makes their identification very difficult. I can only offer a conjecture with respect to a single place, Śārāṅkadika, which possibly may be the Shārāṅpur of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, the chief town of a tahsil in the Lahore District. The names of the traders seem to be throughout Hindu, though some are very quaint Deśi words. In the notes to the translation I have tried to identify the more important ones with those in Mr. E. G. Crawford's list from Ahmadābād and Kāthiāwād, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VII, pp. 165 ff. I may add that there are among them some Brāhmanical names such as Vāmuka, and that the first man is called the son of Bhatta Viruka. The sale of horses is forbidden to Brāhmins;—see Manu, x, 89, and the parallel passages quoted in the synopsis attached to my translation. Here we have a proof that the prohibition was neglected before the Muhammadan times, just as is now sometimes the case.

The tax or tithe imposed was (1) two *dharma*s, to be deducted from the sum received by the dealer for each animal sold in Prithūdaka to the king and to any subject, or sold in Traighātaka and the other places where the dealers traded, to the king, (2) one *dharma* to be paid by the buyer of each animal in addition to the price stipulated. As far as is known at present, the word *dharma* is not used as the name of a coin or numerical quantity. It must, therefore, be understood to mean a religious gift, the amount of which was settled by custom. Self-imposed taxes for religious or charitable purposes are by no means uncommon in modern India. The cotton merchants at Dhollera used to, and perhaps still, pay a few *annas* on every bale of cotton passing through their hands, and the sum thus collected formed, and perhaps still forms, the Dharmtalāo fund, which was originally intended to supply water to travellers coming to Dhollera through the sandy Bhāl country, see also the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. IV, p. 208. When I was Educational Inspector of Gujarāt, a certain portion of this fund was spent on vernacular education. A similar *dharma* fund used to exist at Bharoch, where the Vakhārās or wholesale dealers in cotton, likewise, taxed themselves and their customers for charitable and religious purposes. There can be no doubt that the case mentioned in our inscription was exactly analogous. The customer paid a small sum, which was called a *dharma*, probably a few *annas*, in addition to the stipulated price, and the dealer contributed double the amount from his gains. The money thus collected was given as *akshayanīvī* (l. 12). If this term were taken in its usual sense, it would mean that the money was to be invested and its interest alone to be spent. That seems, however, not to be the case. For (1) the document contains no clause referring to an investment, (2) it gives rules for the distribution of the money collected; and (3) it clearly indicates that the tax is to be levied not once, but constantly on all sales. Hence the term *akshayanīvī* can only mean that this tax itself was to be a perpetual endowment for the donees mentioned.

The donees were (1) the temple built by the illustrious Guhāditya (probably a royal personage) at Kanauj; (2) the temple built by Kadambāditya at Gotirtha in Kanauj; (3) the temple of Vishnu Garudāsana built by the Brāhman Bhūvaka in Bhojapura near Kanauj, (4) the temple of Vishnu in the Yajñavarāha or boar-incarnation built by Bhūvaka in Pchoa—Prithūdaka, (5) the *pūjaka* or temple priest

of the latter deity; and (6) the *sthāna* or sanctuary of Prithūdaka—Pehoa. The allotment of the shares is as follows:—

No. 1 receives $\frac{7}{24}$ of the tax paid by the merchants; Nos. 2 and 3 each a like amount of the same tax; No. 4, $\frac{1}{24}$ of the tax paid by the merchants and $\frac{6}{12}$ of the tax paid by the customers; No. 5, $\frac{1}{24}$ of the tax paid by the merchants and $\frac{1}{12}$ of the tax paid by the customers; and No. 6, $\frac{1}{24}$ of the former tax and $\frac{1}{12}$ of the latter

The management of the charity was entrusted, as was always done and still is customary in India, to *Goshtikas*, i.e., members of a committee or *Pañch*, who had also to look to the collection of the money (*svataḥ parataścha nirvāhaḥ kartavyaḥ*). If my restoration and translation of the word *deśī* (l. 8) is correct, the donors had a foreman or head, who granted the charter in their name, “to the sacred place of Prithūdaka—Pehoa.” This latter expression probably refers to the fact that the document was to be inscribed in Prithūdaka, and that the *Goshtikas* were selected from the most respectable inhabitants of the place or even were the men who managed its other religious and charitable endowments

The date of the inscription, Samvat 276, refers, as Sir A. Cunningham has first shown (*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XXIII, pp. 233 ff.), to the Śrīharsha era, and corresponds to 882-83 A.D. The king who then ruled over Prithūdaka—Pehoa very probably is the same independent sovereign Bhoja, whose name occurs in the Deogarh inscription, dated Samvat 919, and Śakakālābda 784 or, according to Sir A. Cunningham’s calculation,² A.D. 862, and in a Gwalior inscription of A.D. 876. He may also be, as Sir A. Cunningham thinks, the superior king (*adhirāja*) Bhoja, who is mentioned in the *Bājalaranginī*, v, 156, Calcutta edition (151, Troyer), in the account of Śankaravarman’s reign. The verse, however, does not necessarily imply, as Sir A. Cunningham asserts, that Bhoja was Śankaravarman’s contemporary. It admits moreover of the interpretation that he somewhat preceded the latter. The verse says:

इतं भोजाधिराजेन स साम्राज्यमदापयत् ।

प्रतीहारतया मृत्युभूते यक्षिकान्वये ॥

“He caused the universal sovereignty, which had been taken away by the superior king Bhoja, to be given to the scion of the Thakkiyaka³ race who had become his servant by (accepting) the office of a chamberlain.”

The real meaning of the verse is very doubtful. But it is evident that Bhoja need not have been alive when the event alluded to occurred.

Other attempted identifications of this Bhoja with homonymous kings have been shown by Mr. Fleet to be untenable. (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV, pp. 110 ff)

TEXT,

L 1. श्री परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीरामभट्टदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवपादानासभिप्रवर्द्धमानक -

2. ल्याणविजयराज्ये सख्यसरशतहये पट्ससत्यधिके वैशाखमासशुक्लपक्षसप्तम्यां सखत् २७३ वशाख शुदि ७ चम्यां सख्यसरमासदिवसपूर्वा -⁵

² Cunningham’s *Archaeological Survey Reports*, vol X, p 102

³ The editions have the faulty form यक्षिकान्वये.

⁴ L 1. Read श्री

⁵ L. 2. Read संख्यर twice and संखत्

3. यां तियाविह श्रीपृथूदकाधिष्ठाने पिशाचीचतुर्दश्यां घोटकयाज्ञायां समायात घूटवार्षिकेत्य
भट्टवीरकसुत वन्द तथा राज्यवल तथा वल्लुक [र]ाणुकसुत⁶ राज्यसीह उत्य -

4. लिकेत्य भल्लुकसुत माङ्गक चिण्हमत⁷ चोणराक तथा चिकिरिसेलवणपुरीय दडसुत कल्लुक
एतसुत जयराक विण्णसुत आदित्यराक रज्जुकसुत चिण्ह तथा रङ्गक कल्लुक -

5. सुत वासुक वलदेवपुरीय खम्भटसुत होह म्गगाडसुत विड्डक केशवसुत धणुक खङ्गकसुत
[व]ासुक मणिकसुत उएहरि शारङ्गदिकेत्य नारसुत लोहट⁸

6. तथा शङ्कर वल्लुकसुत ईश्वरादित्य सीहरदुक्ककैत्य उल्लकसुत वच्छक जयधराकसुत रणिक
सर[सुत]⁹ प्रगद तैघाटकीय धारटसुत चन्द [ए]क[ग]ीरकसुत सच्च

7. देवशर्मसुत फम्फ वणुकसुत कम्मिक घंघकैत्य लम्भिकसुत स्वामिराक सिंघु[क]सुत सी -
दामोदरसुत पोम्भ हल्लुकसुत दल्लु - - -¹⁰ कम्मिलि [म]ाणसुत खल्लि अ -

8. [ख]लउहोवकैत्य उल्लसुत वद एवमेतत्प्रमुखनानादेशागतभटा-कव्युवहरक[दि]शी श्रीपृथूद-
कीय[स्यानस्य] पम्भ¹¹ प्रयच्छति यथास्माभिः

9. [श्री]कन्यकुम्भे श्रीगुहादित्यकारितदेवाय तथा तच्चैव गोतीर्थे कदम्बादित्यका[रित, देवाय च
तथा श्रीकन्यकुम्भा[सम्भ]श्रीभोजपुरे¹² गगातीरे नागर -

10. [म]हप्रभाकरसुतभूवककारित [ग]रुडासनदेवाय तथा श्रीपृथूदके प्राचीसरस्वतीसन्निधी
भूवकेनैव [का]रित [य]श्वराहाय च पृथूदके घोटक¹³ -

11. [घोटिकावे]ग[स]ररूपादिविक्रय[स्य] राजकीयोपक्रमे ठकुरजनपदा[द्यु]पक्रमे¹⁴ च तथा
नैघाटकादिस्थानेषु केवलं राजकीय एवोपक्रमे रूपं प्र -

12. [ति धर्महेतो]र्यद्भर्महयमस्माभिरचयनीयां प्रदत्तं तच्चतुर्विंशतिभिर्भागैः¹⁵ परिकल्प्य भागास्त
श्रीगुहादित्यकारितदेवाय तथा भा[गा]स्त

13. [कदम्बा]दित्यकारितदेवाय¹⁶ तथा भागाः सप्त भूवककारितगरुडासनाय तथा [भा]गैकः
पृथूदके भूवक[कारि]तयश्वराहाय तथा भागैकस्तत्पूजकाय

14. [य तथा भा]गैक¹⁷ पृथूदकस्थानात् तथा घोटकसंग्राहकैर्घोटक प्रति प्रदत्तधर्मैकस्य कल्पित-
भागानां द्वादशानां मध्यात्पृथूदके प्राचीसरस्वती -

⁶ L 3 The first letter of राणुक is nearly destroyed.

⁷ L 4 Read चिण्हसुत, the original may have •सुत

⁸ L 5 The त of म्गगाडसुत is a correction and stands below the line, its place being indicated by the sign + The first letter of वासुक is nearly destroyed. Possibly छाट to be read

⁹ L 6 Possibly सीहरदुक्ककैत्य to be read The last two syllables of सरसुत are nearly effaced, the last seems to have been added above the line

¹⁰ L 7 The consonant of the second syllable of सिघुक is blurred and not quite certain Restore सीह Three or four letters have been lost before कम्मिलि

¹¹ L 8 The first letter is not certain. Possibly भेटा or ह्य to be read, the following letter is half preserved and seems to have been a compound one, consisting of a त or न and something else, possibly a द Read व्यवहारक The sign rendered सु is damaged and abnormal The first consonant of देशी is uncertain, the word may have been देशी Of स्थानस्य only the initial थ and the top ends of स्य are visible

¹² L 9 The first letter is nearly effaced, only the १ is recognisable Only the second न of the two bracketed signs in कन्याकुम्भा[सम्भ] is distinct The reading may have been •सम्भे

¹³ L 10 The first letter is only half visible. The ग of •गरुडासन• is blurred. At the end of the line stands a long vertical stroke, unconnected with the last letter

¹⁴ L 11 The bracketed letters in the beginning of the line are blurred, but recognisable. The quantity of the first vowel of •दया• and दय is doubtful. The last vowel of •जनपदाद्यु• is doubtful

¹⁵ L 12. The letters bracketed are blurred, but recognisable Read •चतुर्विंशति•.

¹⁶ L 13 The bracketed letters are blurred, but recognisable with the exception of the syllable क. which is entirely gone

¹⁷ L 14. The bracketed letters are all blurred, but recognisable.

15. [सन्निधी] भूवककारितयज्ञवराय¹⁸ [भा]गा; [वट् त]या तत्पूज[क]ाय च भागद्वयं तथा त्रीष्टु-
दकीयस्नानस्य भागाश्चत्वारोऽष्टाभिः प्रतिपादितास्तद-

16. [मुमान्यं घोटक]विक्रेतृभिः[.] क्रेतृभिश्चा[चन्द्रा]र्क[का]लं याव[त्]¹⁹ यथोद्दिष्टस्त्रित्वा गोष्ठिकैः
सन्निः सतः परतश्च निर्व्याहः कर्त्तव्यः ॥ एते च भागा यथोद्दिष्ट-

17. [स्त्रित्वा गोष्ठिकैः कल्प]यितव्याः²⁰ ॥

TRANSLATION.

Om! During the increasing, auspicious and victorious reign of the feet of his majesty, the supreme sovereign, superior king of great kings (*and*) supreme lord, the illustrious Bhoja who meditates on the feet of his majesty, the supreme sovereign, superior king of great kings (*and*) supreme lord, the illustrious Rāmathadhra, in the year two hundred exceeded by seventy-six, on the seventh (*lunar day*) of the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha, (*in figures*) Samvat 276 Vaiśākha śudi 7—on this lunar day specified as above by the year, month and (*civil*) day (*mentioned*)²¹ met²² here in the famous town²³ of Prithūdaka at the horse-fair²⁴ on the *Piśāohīchaturdaśī*²⁵ the (*following*) inhabitants of Chūṭavārshika,²⁶ Bhaṭṭa Vīruka's sons Vanda and Rājyavala²⁷ and Valluka, likewise Rānuka's son Rājyasiha; the (*following*) inhabitants of Utpalika, Bhalluka's son Māṅgaka, Ohinha's son Ohonarāka;²⁸ likewise the (*following*) inhabitants of Ohikkariselavanapura, Dada's son Kalluka,²⁹ his son Jayarāka,³⁰ Vishnu's son Ādityarāka,³¹ Rajjuka's sons Ohinha and Raṅgaka, Kalluka's son Vāmuka;³² the (*following*) inhabitants of Valadevapura (Baladeva-

¹⁸ L. 15. The bracketed letters are blurred, but recognisable with the exception of वट् त, which are gone. The restoration is made certain by the calculation, 12-4-2 = 6. Read यज्ञवराय.

¹⁹ L. 16. The following among the bracketed letters are not recognisable, but conjectural—मुमान्यं। चन्द्रा। का। त्, likewise the bracketed Visarga. The word यावत् is superfluous.

²⁰ L. 17. The bracketed letters are nearly all unrecognisable. But the restoration is nevertheless certain.

²¹ Instead of "specified as above by," etc, the literal translation would be "preceded by," which I have used on other occasions. I now follow Mr. Fleet's example in order to secure a greater conformity in the translations of the technical terms. It ought to be noted that the *divasa*, the solar or the civil day, does not occur in the specification, where the feminine *saptamya* requires *trīṣṭva* to be understood.

²² I translate the crude form of the participle *samādyāta* by the preterite, "met," in order to make the sentence more intelligible. The author of the document, who was not a good Sanskrit scholar, has omitted the case-termination in this word as well as at the end of each of the following names. He no doubt was misled by the usage prevailing in his vernacular.

²³ *Adhishāṭhāna*, 'town,' may also mean 'capital.' But there is no evidence to show that king Bhoja resided in Prithūdaka.

²⁴ Though *Yātrā* usually means 'pilgrimage' or 'religious festival,' the statements in the sequel show that it here means 'fair.' The fair may have been connected with a religious festival.

²⁵ *Piśāohīchaturdaśī*, literally the 'fourteenth (lunar day) of the female goblin,' probably was the name of the fourteenth lunar day of the dark half of Vaiśākha or of Chaitra. For it must have fallen somewhat earlier than the bright half of Vaiśākha and may have belonged to that month or to Chaitra accordingly as the reckoning was *amānta* or *pūrṇimānta*. I have not found the term in the dictionaries nor in the works on *vratas* at my disposal.

²⁶ In *chūṭavārshiketya*, and further on in *utpaliketya* and so forth the affix *īya*, which denotes 'the inhabitant of' or means 'found in,' has been erroneously added to the locative instead of to the crude form of the names. The same anomaly occurs in the Chāṇukya Inscriptions, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, p. 204, No. 7, plate II, l. 2, etc.

²⁷ Rājyavala is perhaps the modern name Rājbal which occurs in Kashmir.

²⁸ With Ohoparāka compare the modern name Chondā, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VII, p. 165.

²⁹ Kalluka is the modern name Kālū, *Indian Antiquary*, loc. cit., p. 166. Dada is perhaps a variant for Dadda, the modern Dādā.

³⁰ Jayarāka may stand for Jayarāṭka and be equivalent to the very common name Jorāj, *Indian Antiquary*, loc. cit., p. 166.

³¹ Ādityarāka probably stands for Ādityarāṭka and corresponds to the modern Ādit or Āditrāj.

³² Vāmuka is known as a Brāhmaṇical name, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. A. Soc.*, vol. XII, extra number, p. 67.

pura), Khambhaṭa's son Hoddha, Mṛigāṅka's son Viddaka, Keśava's son Dhanuka,³³ Khangaka's son Vāmuka, Manikka's son Uehari;³⁴ the (*following*) inhabitants of Śāraṅkadika,³⁵ Nāra's sons Lohaṭa³⁶ (or Lāhaṭa) and Śankara, Valuka's son Īśvarāditya; the (*following*) inhabitants of Siharudukkaka, Ullaka's son Vachohhaka, Jayadharāka's son Ranika, Sūra's son Pragada; the (*following*) inhabitants of Traighāṭaka, Dhāraṭa's son Chanda, Ekagoraka's son Savva, Devaśarman's son Phampha, Vagguka's son Kammika; the (*following*) inhabitants of Ghamghaka, Lallika's son Svāmīrāka, Simghuka's son Sī[ha], Dāmodara's son Pombha,³⁷ Halluka's son Davvu, Kaṣīli, Maṇa's³⁸ son Khajji; the (*following*) inhabitant of Aśvala-Uhovaka, Usūha's son Vaddha. The foreman of the . . . dealers,³⁹ come from various countries, chief among whom are those mentioned above, grants to the sacred place⁴⁰ of famous Prithūdaka a charter to the following (*effect*): To the (*temple of the*) god⁴¹ built by the illustrious Guhāditya in famous Kanyakubja, and to (*the temple of*) the god built by Kadambaditya even there in the Gotirtha, and to the (*temple of the*) god riding on Garuḍa built by Bhūvaka, the son of the Nāgara⁴² Bhaṭṭa Prabhākara on the bank of the Ganges in famous Bhojapura near famous Kanyakubja, and to the (*temple of the*) sacrificial boar⁴³ built by the same Bhūvaka in famous Prithūdaka near the Eastern Sarasvatī, we have given on the sale of horses, mares, mules and other animals⁴⁴—in Prithūdaka in the case of a purchase by the king as well as in the case of a purchase by the Thakkurās,⁴⁵ the provincials and so forth, and in Traighāṭaka and other sacred places in the case of a purchase by the king alone—for the sake of spiritual merit two *dharma*s⁴⁶ for

³³ Compare the modern name Dhanā, *Ind. Ant.*, loc. cit., p. 165.

³⁴ Manikka is the very common modern name Mānek from *māṇikya*, 'a ruby' Uehari is a very peculiar compound, but perfectly distinct on the impression.

³⁵ Śāraṅkadika may possibly be the modern Shārakpur in the Pañjāb, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, *sub voce*

³⁶ Nāra is probably, like the modern name Nāru which is frequently used in Gujarāt, an abbreviation of Nārāyana. If Lāhaṭa is the correct reading, its first part may be connected with the modern name Lādhā, *Indian Antiquary*, loc. cit., p. 166

³⁷ Compare the modern name Pomlā, *Indian Antiquary*, loc. cit., p. 167

³⁸ As the preceding word is mutilated, it is not certain if I have divided the syllables correctly. But Maṇa seems to be the equivalent of the modern name Mānā, *Indian Antiquary*, loc. cit., p. 166

³⁹ I do not dare to propose any correction for the mutilated word *ḥaṣṭ*- or *ḥaya*- which I do not understand and hence leave it untranslated. As *vyavahāraka* no doubt stands for *vyavahāra*, 'trader, dealer,' it is, however, not improbable that the immediately preceding word referred to that in which the traders dealt, and that some word meaning 'horses' or 'animals' is hidden under the meaningless syllables. The word *deśi*, which I have translated by 'foreman,' means literally, 'guide, instructor.' It would seem that the dealers had appointed a manager, who acted in their name. Though this is possible, I should have expected at the end of the compound *Srenī* or some equivalent term.

⁴⁰ *Sikhāna*, literally 'a place,' is frequently used in the sense of 'a place sacred to a particular deity,' see, e.g., the inscription from the temple of Bhadrā Kālī in Somnāth Pattan, *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. III, p. 7, verse 4, 6, p. 8, verse 9, etc. Here the sanctuary of the chief deity in Prithūdaka is probably intended.

⁴¹ Though the god is not named to whom this and the next mentioned temples were dedicated, it may be conjectured that Vishnu is meant, because the other two temples are Vaiṣṇava buildings.

⁴² Nāgara is either the name of the subdivision of the Brāhmins to which Prabhākara belonged, or an honorific title indicating that he was the Chief Bhaṭṭa of the town of Kanau.

⁴³ 'The sacrificial boar' is Vishnu in the boar incarnation.

⁴⁴ *Rāpa* has the meaning 'an animal' according to the *Korhas*, and is used in that sense by Bāpa.

⁴⁵ The Thakkurās are the Thākurs or Rājput landholders, by *janapada*, 'the provincials,' the common people must be understood.

⁴⁶ *Dharma* denotes here and further on, where one *dharma* is mentioned, a kind of tithe set apart for religious purposes. The exact amount cannot be ascertained. It no doubt was regulated by custom, and so well known that its specification seemed unnecessary. In the translation the relative pronoun *yaḍ* which precedes *dharma* has been left out intentionally, and the word *and* has been inserted in its stead, in order to make the sentence more intelligible.

each animal, as a perpetual endowment;⁴⁷ and dividing that into twenty-four shares, we have assigned seven shares to the (*temple of the*) god built by the illustrious Guhāditya, and seven shares to the (*temple of the*) god built by Kādamhāditya, and seven shares to (*the temple of*) him who rides on Garuda, and one share⁴⁸ to the (*temple of the*) sacrificial boar built by Bhūvaka in Prithūdaka, and one share to the temple priest of the latter, and one share to the sacred place of Prithūdaka;⁴⁹ moreover we have assigned out of the twelve shares into which the one *dharma* given for each horse by the purchasers of horses has been divided, [six] shares to (*the temple of*) the sacrificial boar built by Bhūvaka in Prithūdaka near the Eastern Sarasvatī and to the temple priest of the latter two shares, and to the sacred place in famous Prithūdaka four shares. This [*should be agreed to*] by the sellers and buyers of horses, (*and*) the virtuous *Goshṭhikas*⁵⁰ should thus manage on their own part and on behalf of others, according to the rule laid down above, as long as sun and moon exist. Moreover these shares should be divided [*by the Goshṭhikas*] according to [*the rule*] laid down above.

XXIV—THE KANGRA JVALAMUKHI PRASASTI.

By G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., O.I.E.

The subjoined edition of the *Jvalāmukhi Prasasti* has been prepared according to three paper-impressions furnished to me by Dr. Burgess. The inscription was described by Sir A. Cunningham in his *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. V., pp. 167-168. He has fixed its age and extracted from it the best part of the historical information which it conveys. It is incised on a stone slab, measuring 2' 4" by 1' 6", which is preserved in the porch of the temple of Bhavānī in Bhawan, a suburb of Koṭ Kangrā.

It is written in two different alphabets,—the *mangala*, and the first verse, which fill the first two lines and the beginning of the third, being in modern Śāradā characters while the remainder is in common Devanāgarī. The technical execution is not good. Some letters are imperfectly formed and the clerical mistakes, which are partly corrected, are very numerous. The latter may, however, in part be due to the carelessness of the writer of the copy from which the mason worked. As regards the preservation of the document, it must be noted that the left halves of lines 7-14 have been seriously damaged, and that further on, too, single letters have been effaced. The language is

⁴⁷ When it is stated that the two *dharmas* are given as a perpetual endowment, the meaning probably is that the sum was to be paid at each of the annual horse-fairs in Prithūdaka, Traighāṭaka and other places where the traders dealt. This follows from the further exhortations addressed to the sellers and buyers as well as to the *Goshṭhikas*.

⁴⁸ *Bhāgaikāṣa*, 'one share,' which occurs here and further on, as well as *dharmaikāṣa*, 'one *dharma*,' is bad Sanskrit caused by the vernacular expression *bhāg ek*.

⁴⁹ The ablative *prithūdakasthādāt* is altogether wrong; it ought to be the dative or the genitive, as further on.

⁵⁰ The *Goshṭhikas* are the members of the *Pañch* or committee entrusted with the management of the religious endowments; see also *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IX, p. 171, note 26, where the modern Nepālese name of such a committee, *guffā*, i.e., *goshṭhā*, is given.

Sanskrit and, towards the end, not free from grammatical mistakes. With respect to the orthography, it may be stated that in the group *nt* the nasal is almost invariably expressed by an *anusvāra* and *n*.

The inscription consists of two entirely distinct parts. Lines 1-14 contain, besides a double *Mangala*, nine very artificial verses in honour of Bhavānti-Jvālāmukhī. Verse 10 informs us that this *Stotra* was composed by an ascetic of the Vedānta school called Rāghavachaitanya. A poet of this name is repeatedly and reverentially quoted in Śārngadhara's *Paddhati* (see Professor Aufrecht's *Oxford Catalogue*, p. 124 B, and *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XXVIII, p. 76). If, as seems not improbable, the two persons are identical, the *Stotra* must have been composed before A.D. 1363, the date of the *Paddhati*, and be at least about 80—100 years older than the inscription. In the second part, lines 15-24, one Krishnabhatta informs us (verse 12) that he copied the above *Stotra*, and tells us regarding himself that he was 'a brother to the wives of others,' learned in all *Śāstras*, a poet, a devotee of Harihara, and originally an inhabitant of Kāśī or Benares. His grandfather, he says (verse 11), who was also called Krishnabhatta, belonged to the Drāvida subdivision of the Brāhmins and to the Ātreya gotra, was able to explain the six *Darśanas* and had performed one or several Soma sacrifices. His father Vāgīśvara, he adds (*ibidem*), thoroughly knew the *Mīmāṃsā*, the *Smritis*, and the science of the sacrifice, and had composed works of his own. Next follows (verses 13-14) the information regarding the ruler of the country, which has already been discussed by Sir A. Cunningham. He was Samsārachandra, son of Karma-chandra and grandson of Meghachandra, "who after conquering all his foes presents the earth to those knowing the meaning of the *Vedas* and of the *Śāstras*." The latter words show that Krishnabhatta had received or hoped to receive Dakṣiṇā from the prince

If I am right in reading (verse 13) *pañohamābdābhishikṭah* and in translating it by "who was anointed in the fifth year (of the *Lokakāla*)," it appears that Samsārachandra mounted the throne in the year 1430 A.D., which corresponds to the year 4505 of the Saytarshī era; for Sir A. Cunningham (*loc. cit.*) has satisfactorily proved that this king belongs to the fifteenth century, "because he is the fourth after Rūpa-[chandra], the contemporary of Firoz Tughlak in A.D. 1360, and the sixth before Dharma[chandra], the contemporary of Akbar in A.D. 1560." The following verse (15) praises Samsārachandra's minister, the chamberlain (*pratīhāra*) Rani, *i.e.*, probably Ranasimha, who was the son of the chamberlain Vira, *i.e.*, Virasimha. Verse 16 is in honour of the Muhammadan overlord Sāhi Mahammad, who must be identified, as Sir A. Cunningham has shown, with Muhammad Saiyid, Emperor of Dehli from A.D. 1433 to 1446. Verse 17 gives us the name of the mason Sūgika who incised the inscription out of devotion towards, *i.e.*, while in the service of, the Kāmboja Delha. The concluding *mangala* in prose is addressed to Jvālāmukhī, by one Sūryadhvaja, the pupil of the illustrious Karmadhvaja. This person probably was an ascetic connected with the temple or the worship of Bhavānti-Jvālāmukhī. The whole second part of the inscription is no doubt the composition of Krishnabhatta, who, though a poet and learned in all *Śāstras*, was unable to write correct Sanskrit. The date of the inscription, of course, lies between A.D. 1433 and 1446.

TRANSCRIPT.

- L. 1. श्री ॥ श्री स्वस्ति ॥ ॥ श्री नमो ज्वालासुख्यै ॥
पायाज्ज्वालासुखी व५ प्रणतसुरवरस्कारकोटीरकोटी-
कोटीव्याटोकमानद्युमणिसममणित्थे-
2. णिभावेणिभाता ॥
कल्यान्तघोभजंभाभररभससमारंभसंरंभभीम-
ज्वालामालाकरालाननलघुकवलीभूतभूतप्र-
3. पंचा [॥] १ [॥]¹
अव्यात् ज्वालासुखी वस्त्रमरसमरसीभावसंभावनी[द्य]-
श्रीर्वाण्यस्त्रवाणप्रहसितदितिभूगर्वसर्वकपौजा ।
श्रीर्याहभावसंभावितम-
4. द्विपगलामन्नखण्णाप्रधारो-
ब्रह्मद्रक्तप्रणाली- त- रयइतिद्वितीर्ध्वाण्यखण्णा ॥ २ ॥²
[पंचा]खोदंचनप्रांचितचरणसरोजा सरोजासनादि-
[स्य]त्यासु त्यागशूरासुरग
5. मरमदत्योनदत्यां च जन्मा ॥
जन्मा जन्मप्रपंचा [प्र]भवभयरुजाहारिणी हारिणी सा
वद्यावद्यानवद्या धिय[मिय]मुदय[स्ये]न्नि वल्लेश्वरी वः ॥ ३ ॥³
साकंसाकं-
6. सकंसाशमनग्रमनताशविभाताविभाता
दिव्यादिव्यापदूनाविषमविषमयत्नेग्रभीमाग्रभीमा ॥
वामावामावताहो यतिनि यतिनिरी-
7. चासमद्या
जालंजालंधरं श्रीचयनचयनयोगन्त्रितोमात्रितोमा ॥ ४ ॥⁴
देवी ज्वालासुखी वक्षिरमग्रभमलं खंडिपीटैधिपीट
स्यामैतस्याः प्रसादात्कि-
8. मपि तनु मह[बे]तसा [सं]गसीष्ट ॥
विद्या [वि]द्यो[ति]पीष्ट प्र[क्त]तिमनुविदे-यिपीष्ट प्रसक्तिं-
धीः संबोभूयिपीष्ट प्रचुरपरिमला-ीन्मकोकूयिपीष्ट ॥ ५ ॥⁵
दुर्गा-
9. दुर्गार्त्तिवोव्यादलिकुलतरलां [वै]जय[न्ती]जयन्ती-
मासामासालयन्ती[क]लित[क]लिमलाविश्रुताश्रुताया ॥
दुर्गादुर्गार्त्तिवोव्यादलिकुलतरलां वैज-

¹ Metre of verses 1—9, Sragdharā The word चोम in Pāda 3 is not certain The consonants of the first syllable look like *ghcāh*, an impossible combination.

² Read •कपौजाः. The original had originally श्रीर्यो which has been corrected The last syllable of चक्षाय stands above the line. Perhaps वित्तद to be restored, रय stands above the line.

³ Read स्त्रियासु •दत्योन• stands above the line

⁴ The text had in Pāda 3 originally यतिनियतिनियतिनिरीषा, but syllables 7—9 have been deleted by means of *kāka-pādas*. Add at the end of the foot चमचा

⁵ Read at the end of Pāda 3 प्रसक्तिः. Probably गीः प्रकीकूयिपीष्ट to be read

यन्तीं [ज] यन्ती-

11. कलितहरिपदा[दे]ववि[द्या]रसोमा ॥

12. मा [1] ७ [0]

13. लम्प त[क्षु]वाना

14 दासीष्ट च निरतिशयां - तः - ओ-षीष्ट ॥

15. ते॥८॥

16. पणमटे-

17 पारदक्षा स्मृति — — [नि]पु[णो] यज्ञविद्याप्रवीणः ॥ [११ ॥]

18. काशीवासी समेत्यालिखदिद[सुरभिलिं ि- ि- स्तोत्ररत्नं

19. घचद्रस्तोभू-

* At the end of 1 8 the syllables चिंनो have been deleted. In Pāds 2 the text had originally चिंनदावा, of which the third and fourth syllables have been deleted, while another च has been written above the line

7 विद्याधत्य० seems to be wrong

* Metre, Anushtubb

* Metre of verses 11-18, Bragdhara. Read कृष्णमहर्षद्वयम् ; * सुव. is doubtful.

तस्मात्संसारचंद्रः समजनि नृपतिः पंचमा[भ्या]भिषिक्तः
शत्रून्सर्वान्विजि-

L. 20. त्वा वितरति वसुधां वेदशास्त्रार्थविद्वदः ॥ [११ ॥]¹⁰

कीर्त्तियस्य तुषारहारविशदा लोकावयं गाहते
प्रालेयाद्रिमिषेण पनगपतिव्याजेन चद्रह्मवात ।

21. यन्मुर्त्तिय सतामभीष्टफलदक्षिन्ता[म]पिः श्रीभते
सोयं भूपतिशेखरो विजयते ससारचद्रो नृपः ॥ [१४]¹¹
वीरप्रतीहासुते वदान्ये महीपते वोढरि रा-

22. व्यभार ॥

रणीप्रवीहारजितारिर्गे भवप्रशक्तिः परिरक्षति चित्ति ॥ [१५ ॥]¹²
ब्रह्मांडोक्तगुह्यान्तरे दृढतरं निर्माय कूर्मासनं
चीरांभोनिधियो-

23. गण्डकलिताप्युष्मा तमःकुंतलान् ॥

कालं वस्तु विजित्य पश्यति परं ज्योतिः प्रतापाभिधं
श्रीमत्साहस्रमहमदस्य जयतात्कीर्त्तिः परा योगिनी । [१६ ॥]¹³

24. श्रीमद्गणपतिशुक्लगीत्या कांबोजदेहस्य ॥

भक्त्या लेखितमतस्तोत्रं सुगीकसूत्रधाराच्च ॥ [१७ ॥]¹⁴
श्रीमत्कर्मध्वजशिष्यसूर्यध्वजस्य ज्वालासुख्यै नमः [॥]

TRANSLATION ¹⁵

Verse 10. By the famous ascetic Rāghava'chaitanya, a Vedāntist, has this string of jewel-like praise been offered to Jvālāmukhī.

11. (There was) a learned Drāvida of the Ātreya gotra, Krishnabhattacha, a destroyer of the impurity of the Kali age, a teacher of the six Darśanas, who was honoured by the sons of kings and who had bathed on (the completion of) Soma sacrifices. From him was born a leader of wise men, called Vāgīśvara, a composer of works, who had completely mastered the Mīmāṃsā, was clever in (the exposition of) the Smṛtis and was learned in sacrificial lore.

12. His son Krishnabhattacha, a brother to the wives of others, a master of all sciences, a composer of poetry, a bee on the lotus of the feet of Harbhara (filled) with excessive (devotion), an inhabitant of Kāśī, came and copied with broad this most excellent hymn on the greatness of Jvālāmukhī; take notice of this (poem that is) most important for (the attainment of) enjoyments and liberation.¹⁶

¹⁰ Read •पतिर्नेष्ट• विजिता is a grammatical mistake for विजित्य, which the author committed in order to escape a metrical fault.

¹¹ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita Read चंद्रह्मवात

¹² Metre, Upajātī Read वीरप्रतीहार• and रणीप्रतीहार•.

¹³ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹⁴ Metre, Gītā Read •गीतास्थी, •सूत्रधारिण

¹⁵ I omit verses 1—9 as they possess little general interest

¹⁶ The use of *atipelam*, literally 'excessively,' which seems to mean '(filled) with excessive (devotion),' is not idiomatic

13. In the race of the (*lord of this country*) to whom long life may be granted arose king Meghachandra. From him sprang the illustrious king Karmachandra, the abode of a multitude of virtues, a moon for (*that*) assemblage of lotuses, virtuous men. From him was born king Samsārachandra, anointed in the fifth year (*of the Lokakāla*); after conquering all his enemies, he presents the earth to those who know the meaning of the *Vedas* and of the *Śāstras*.¹⁷

14. Victorious is that best among princes, king Samsārachandra, whose fame, resplendent like snow or a string of pearls, pervades the three worlds in the guise of the snowy mountains, of the lord of snakes, and of the moon,—he whose form shines as the *Chintāmani* that grants the desired rewards to the virtuous.

15. While the chamberlain (*pratihāra*) Rani who has conquered hosts of foes, the noble son of the chamberlain (*pratihāra*) Vira, carries the burden of the government, thy fame, O king, protects the earth

16. Victorious be the fame of the illustrious Sāhi Mahammada, that most excellent sorceress who sees the supreme light called majesty, after having most firmly fixed the tortoise-seat in the cave called Brahman's egg, after having shorn the locks of darkness, even using the milk-ocean during her devotions as the knee-cloth, and after having conquered the dark matter.

17 Through pure fondness for divine Ganapati, out of devotion for the Kāmboja Delha, this hymn has been caused to be written by the mason Sūgika.¹⁸

Of Sūryadhvaja, the pupil of famous Karmadhvaja, adoration to Jyālamukhi!

XXV —TWO CHANDELLA INSCRIPTIONS.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHOEN, PH.D., C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

I.

MAU STONE INSCRIPTION OF MADANAVARMADEVA

THE stone which bears this inscription was discovered in 1813 by Lieutenant William Price, at the foot of a rocky hill in the vicinity of the town of Mau, in the Jhānsi District of the North-Western Provinces, where "the natives were accustomed to sharpen their knives and *talwars* upon it" Lieutenant Price presented it to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and it is now in the India Museum at Calcutta. He published a transcript and translation¹ of the inscription in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XII, pages 357-374.

¹⁷ *Satkumudachchandrah*, 'a moon for (*that*) assemblage of lotuses, virtuous men,' is most objectionable. For the poet really means to say that the king causes good men to prosper, just as the moon causes the lotus flowers to open, and he ought to have said *satkumuchchandrah*, or *satkumudachchandrah*. The affix *cat* which makes the simile to halt, has probably been added only because the poet did not know how to satisfy the requirements of the metre. The same cause has also induced him to use the incorrect form *vysted*.

¹⁸ *Lekhtari*, 'has been caused to be written,' probably has been put, instead of *likhitam* or *utkirtam*, 'has been written or incised,' neither of which would fit the metre.

This translation contains one serious error in introducing a second king Sallakhanavarman after Jayavarma-deva—an error which has not been hitherto rectified.

The inscription, so far as I can judge from the impression, consists of 29 lines. The writing covers a space of about 4' 0½" broad by 3' 1" high, and a considerable portion of it is greatly damaged. Thus, the last line is almost completely effaced, and portions of about half the number of lines are either gone altogether or have become illegible, as will be seen from my transcript of the text. Fortunately, however, the names of the royal personages mentioned in the inscription are all well preserved, so that in all probability little of historical importance has been lost. The size of the letters is about ⅞". The characters are Nāgarī of about the twelfth century, similar in style to those of the inscriptions from Ajaygadh and Mahobā, of which photo-lithographs are given in Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XXI, plates xv and xxi-xxiii; and all that need be said about them here, is that in this particular alphabet it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the signs for *g*, *n* and *m*. The language is Sanskrit, and, so far as the inscription is legible, it is in verse throughout. The names of the composer and of the engraver may have been given in the concluding lines, but they are no longer legible. As regards orthography, *b* is denoted by the sign for *v* everywhere except in *Kānyakubja*, line 3, *abdhēr*, line 14, *abbhramlshair* and *abbhrabhṛānti*, line 18, *babhāruḥ* (?) and *būhhrad*, line 21, and *bbhṛyaśī*, line 25; the dental *n* is used instead of the *anusvāra* in *śubhṛāntu*, line 10, *vanśa*, lines 11 (twice), 19 (?) and 23, *mīmāṇsaka*, line 11, and *yajñāṇśa*, line 19; and *ujjala* occurs for *uyjala*, in lines 13 and 15 (but not in line 16).

The inscription, in its present state, contains no date, but as it clearly is of the time of the (Chandella) king Madanavarman,* it must be referred to about the middle of the twelfth century A. D. Its proper object is to record the erection of a temple of Viṣṇu, the building of a tank near the village of Deddu, and the execution of some other work of piety, by one of the king's ministers whose name appears to have been Gadādhara (verses 46-48); and by way of introduction the inscription (in verses 3-16) gives a list of the (Chandella) kings from Dhanga to Madanavarman, and (in verses 17-45) an account of the family of the ministers of these kings, to which Gadādhara belonged.

The line of kings here presented to us, together with few remarks of historical importance, is as follows:—

- (1.) Dhanga,[†] defeated the king of Kanyakubja (v. 3).
- (2.) His son Gandadeva (v. 4).
- (3.) His son Vidyādhara-deva (v. 5).
- (4.) His son Vijayapāla (v. 6).
- (5.) His son Kīrtivarma-deva (vv. 7-8).
- (6.) His son Śallakṣhanavarma-deva (vv. 9-10); evidently carried on a war in the country of Antardvī (vv. 38-39).
- (7.) His son Jayavarma-deva (v. 11); succeeded by
- (8.) Prithvīvarman, the younger brother of (6) Śallakṣhanavarman, (vv. 12-13).
- (9.) His son Madanavarman defeated the kings of Ohedi and Mālava, and made the king of Kāśī keep on friendly terms (vv. 14-16).

* See ante, page 153.

† See note 62 on the translation of verse 3

As regards the line of ministers, it suffices here to state that in the family of Gautama Akshapāda, the reputed founder of the Nyāya system of philosophy, there was born Prabhāsa, the prime minister of the kings Dhanga and Ganda (vv. 18-22). His son was Śivanāga, the minister of Vidyādhara (vv. 23-24), and from him sprang Mahipāla, the minister of Vijayapāla (vv. 25-26). Mahipāla had two sons, Ananta and Yogeśvara, of whom Ananta was minister under Kirtivarman and Sallakshana-varman (vv. 27-39). Ananta had two wives and several sons, of whom one, probably Gadādhara, was appointed *Prathāra* by Jayavarman (v. 40), and prime minister by Prithivivarman (v. 41), a post which he continued to hold under Madanavarman (v. 42). In this account of the ministers all the names of the kings are repeated in the same order in which they are given in the earlier part of the inscription.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription the country of Antarvedi (in verse 38) is the Doab or district between the Gangā and Yamunā rivers, and the village of Deddu (in verse 47) must have been near where the inscription has been found. Prabhāsa, mentioned by way of comparison in verse 20, is a famous place of pilgrimage on the west coast, at Verāwal Pattan in Kāthiāwād.

TEXT¹

L. 1²

— — — — —

श्रीव[त्सा]द् दधदपि वपुर्द्विभ्यमव्यक्त एव ।

मायाजालैर्यमितभुवनोऽप्येकहेतुर्व्विसुक्ते -

— — — — —³—[1]

— — — — —

2

— — — पञ्चावली[नां]

[भ]गिः प्रोद्य[स्त]ल[क्ष्मी]कुचकल[श]तटाद्वक्षसि श्रीधरस्य ।

सकान्ता पातु शुभानतिविशदलिपिर्द्दर्शनीया मिलाभे

विन्यस्ता मन्मथेनोन्मदसुरतविधि[व्यञ्जि]केव प्र[श]स्तिः⁴—[2].

— — — — — [ना]मा

नरेन्द्रः[1]

3

— — [नि]खिल[नृप] यः कान्यकुब्जं नरेन्द्र समर[भु]वि विजित्य प्राप साम्राज्यसुखैः⁵—[3]

दर्पकण्डू[प्र]दोर्दण्डद्विपत्खण्डनपण्डितः ।

⁶गण्डदेवोऽभवत्तस्माच्चतुर[न्ता]वनीश्वरः⁷—[4].

तस्मादशेषनरपतिमौलियु विश्वा[न्त]कान्तपदकमलः ।

श्रीविद्याधरदेवः [वा]सवो जज्ञे⁸—[5]

अजनि विजयपा -

¹ From an impression taken by the Editor

² Here there are, preceding the first verse, traces of about twelve *akṣaras*. One would expect श्री वनी भगवते वासुदेवाय, or some similar phrase

³ *Metro*, *Mandākrāntā*.

⁴ It is impossible to say exactly how many *akṣaras* are effaced at the end of this and the beginning of the next line

⁵ *Metro*, *Sragdharā*.

⁶ *Metro*, *Mālinī*.

⁷ The back of the impression shows distinctly that this name is here गण्ड, not मण्ड

⁸ *Metro*, *Śloka* (Anuṣṭubh).

⁹ *Metro*, *Āryā*

- L. 4. [ल]: स्फारकीर्त्या विशालः [शुभ]चरितपवित्रस्तस्य रात्रः सुपुत्रः ।
 क्षपितनिखिलदुष्टः प्रीणिताशेषशिष्टः कृतकलि[युगभङ्गः?] क्षीणि — — उ — उ : ॥¹⁰—[6].
 भुवनत्रयगीतपुण्यकीर्त्तिस्तनयो ऽस्याजनि कीर्त्तिवर्मदेवः ।
 उ — [कलि][कल्मषं विहतं?] उ — धर्म इ[वात्र?] यो ऽवतीर्णः ॥¹¹—[7].
 जिग्ये
5. येनारिवर्गः [कि]ल सममरि[भि]: पङ्क्तिरेवान्तरङ्गैः
 सार्धं धर्म्येण नीतान्यनुदिनमधिक¹² वृद्धिमद्भानि सप्त ।
 उच्छिन्नः कण्टकौघो जगति कलिमल[धीनवै?]रेण साक
 [स्नात्रा] सञ्चारिता चाजलधिपरिसर [स्फार]कीर्त्या सहैव ॥¹³—[8].
 — — — उ — [स्व]विक्रमभरप्रोन्निद्रितारिः सदा
 यी -
6. [स]क्षचणवर्मदेवनृपतिस्तस्यात्मजो ऽ[भू]प्रभुः [।]
 धीरेयः श्रुतशालिनाङ्गुणवतां व(व)न्धुः कलाना निधिः
 सदृत्तस्य च सद्य कल्पयिटपी नि.[शेषपुच्छ]र्धिनां ॥¹⁴—[9].
 ये[ना]च्छिद्यारिलक्ष्मीमखिलकु[लज]ने यच्छतोच्चैर्निर[स्ता]
 [सा] कष्टा दुःख[वृत्ति] उ — उ — उ — उ — [यि?]ये किञ्च यस्य ।
 रात्रां सेवागतानां क -
7. न[क]मणिमयोद्भासिनेपथ्यसाम्या -
 दन्धेषां चाग्रितानां सदसि किमपि नाभूद्विशेषोपलम्भः ॥¹⁵—[10].
 [श्रीदार्य]सत्यनयशौर्यनिवासभूमिस्तस्याजनिष्ट तनयो जयवर्मदेवः ।
 यस्य प्रतापतपनाभ्युदयेन भूपा दीपा इव [चत?] उ — उ — न रेजुः ॥¹⁶—[11].
 श्रीसक्षचणवर्मक्षीणीनाथस्य सोदरोव -
8. रजः ।
 अथ पृथ्वीवर्मनृपः कुलराज्यधुरान्दधौ धुर्यः ॥¹⁷—[12].
 अशिष्टेषु द्वेषो भृशमभिरतिः पात्रनिवहे
 जिघृक्षा न्याये ऽर्थे विधिवदथ तीर्थे वितरणं ।
 परा [रक्षा भूतेष्व]पि च विनयादानपरता
 वितेने येनेत्यं कृतचरितमुच्चैरिह कला ॥¹⁸—[13]
 अजनि मदनवर्मभूमिपालस्त्रिभुवनविश्रुतविक्रमो ऽय तस्मात् ।
9. भुजव(व)लमवलोक्य यस्य [मि]ने ऽहुतव(व)लभीमकथा जनैरमिथ्या ॥¹⁹—[14].
 द्वाग्विद्वत्त्वेव चैवः समरभरजितो यस्य नाम्नापि नित्यं
 कालं सौहार्दवत्त्वा गमयति सततं त्रासतः काशिराजः ।
 येनौदत्यं दधानः स च सपदि समुन्मूलितो मालवेश -
 स्तान्वन्तो यत्र भक्तिं परमवनिभुजः स्वास्थ्यमन्ये च मेजुः ॥²⁰—[15].

¹⁰ Metre, Mālinī¹¹ Metre, Aupachchhandasika¹² I should have expected अधिक¹³ Metre, Sragdharā¹⁴ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita¹⁵ Metre, Sragdharā¹⁶ Metre, Vasantatilakā.¹⁷ Metre, Āryā¹⁸ Metre, Śikharinī¹⁹ Metre, Pushpitāgrā.²⁰ Metre, Sragdharā, and of the next verse

- L 10 कृष्टायां वेगवलानुरगखुरपुटैर्वैरिण्डावसुक्तैः
 सिक्ताया रक्ततोयैः समरभुवि भृशं तेन शुभ्रान्शुगौरं²¹ ।
 सुक्तावीजं यद्गुप्त रिपुकरिशिरसा कीर्त्तिवह्नी ततो ऽ[भू] -
 तत्त्यागाश्वप्रसेकात्मलभवसभामण्डप व्यानये सा ॥ —[16]
 अथ नृपतीनामेपा ये राज्यधुरन्धरा महांसात्याः ।
 अभव -
11. निशुद्धचरितास्तद्वन्धः²² कीर्त्यते ऽधुना वन्द्यः ॥²³—[17].
 सुनुर्विखस्रजः समस्तभुवनैर्यो माननीयो ऽङ्गिरा -
 स्तद्वन्धे²⁴ भगवानजायत सुनिर्विद्यानिधिर्गौतमः ।
 द्वाग्मीमान्सकरूपिणा²⁵ प्रकटिते भालेक्षणे शशुना
 रोपाद्वादविधौ निजे पदतले येनाक्षि सदर्थित ॥²⁶—[18]
 न्यायदर्शनविकासनद -
- 12 चः सो ऽक्षपाद इह कस्य न वन्द्यः ।
 प्रत्यतिष्ठिपदपास्य कुतर्कानीश्वरस्य महिमातिशयं यः ॥²⁷—[19]
 तस्योदयतपप्रभाववसतेर्गोत्रे विहृते क्रमा -
 त्सु[ख्यै]कायतनं गुणौघसदनं जज्ञे प्रभासः सुधीः ।
 अत्युद्दामसरस्वतीविलसितेनोद्भासित सादराः
 प्राभास कृतिनः सुतीर्थमिव य द्रष्टुं ययुः श्रेयसे ॥²⁸—[20]
- 13 सर्वोपधाशुद्धिमतान्धुरीणो धङ्गेन गण्डेन²⁹ च भूभृता यः ।
 नयप्रयोगे गह्वरे सुदत्तः परीक्ष्य चक्रे ऽखिलमन्त्रिमुख्यः ॥³⁰—[21]
 सुदृढतरव(व)हमूलः समेधितस्तत्रयाशु(सु)सेकेन ।
 राज्यतरभवदनयोस्त्रिवर्गफलदः सदा नृपयोः ॥³¹—[22]
 वु(वु)द्वया श्रुतेन व(व)हुना धिपणायमानसुन्द्रातपोज्ज्वल्यशोभतदिग्वितानः ।
 आजौ विपक्षनिवहैरवि -
14. पञ्चधामा तस्मादजायत कृती शिवनागनामा ॥³²—[23].
 अभिष्टोतुं शक्य कथमिव गुणास्तस्य समते -
 र्यं एकः सहृत्तः सचिवपद[मास्थाय] न चिर ।
 क्रमाद्राज्य विद्याधरनरपतेर्नित्यकरदी -
 कृताशेषोर्वीश व्यधित भुवि सर्व्वीतिशयितं ॥³³—[24].
 विशुद्धाहुग्धाब्धेर्विधुरिव जगन्नेत्रसुभगो
 महीपालस्तस्मादभवद -
- 15 भिरामोज्ज्वलगुणः ।
 गिर सत्येन स्वां मतिमखिलकार्यैः [सु]फलितै -

²¹ Read युवाय०²² Read ० ईशः ।²³ Metre, Giti²⁴ Read ० ईशः ।²⁵ Read ० मांसकरूपिणा²⁶ Metre, Śārdūlavakrīḍita.²⁷ Metre, Brāgatā²⁸ Metre, Śārdūlavakrīḍita²⁹ Here, again, the first *akṣhara* of this word, on the back of the impression, is distinctly *ग*, not *ग*³⁰ Metre, Upajāti³¹ Metre, Āryā.³² Metre, Vasantatilakā³³ Metre, Śikharinī, and of the next verse.

यं दृष्टापूर्त्ताभ्यां त्रियमपि कृतार्थत्वमनयत् ॥ —[25].
 अविकलङ्गुदकार्यधुराभरं विजयपालनराधिपतेर्दधत् ।
 स निरवधानयान्वितविक्रमः सुसचिवेषु बभूव निदर्शनं ॥³⁴—[26].
 सन्नैकधाम सन्नोगनित्योद्भासिवपुः क -

L 16.

ती ।

जगद्भरक्षमो जप्ते ऽनन्तो ऽनन्तगुणस्ततः ॥³⁵—[27].
 अभूद्भूरिगुणाधारो यस्य योगेश्वरो ऽनुजः ।
 स रामस्यैव सौमित्रि धन[व्रत]: ॥ —[28].
 अत्युच्चैरुदितोदित कुलमिदं त्रा(त्रा)द्विष्यमत्युज्ज्वलं
 वेदस्याध्ययन श्रुतं च विमल श्रीः शिष्टसाधारणी ।
 श्रीयं दुर्विपहं रणेषु सततं सर्वत्र वाक्पुनृता
 ऽन -

17. तस्यास्य महात्मनः शुभमतेः किं किं न लोकोत्तरम् ॥³⁶—[29].

मन्त्री मन्त्राधिकारे सुमहति हृदय गूढविश्रम्भकृत्ये
 नित्यं हस्त्य[श्वनेता?] रिपुषु [पुर?]व(व)लाध्यच्च एकस्त्रगोसा ।
 निर्जिता शात्रवा[णाम] ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ [श]: सर्ववीरेक[धृ]यः
 कार्ये कश्चिन्न सोभूदभिमतसचिवः कीर्त्तिवर्धेश्वरस्य ॥³⁷—[30].
 युक्तयेव -

18.

चिवो गुणैरभिजनप्रज्ञा[शुचि]त्वादिभि -

मता स्यान्न त[दा] स्फुटं नृपतिना काचिदुरापोन्नतिः ।
 तस्मिन्नेतृवरे ऽनुशासति [धरां य]त्कीर्त्तिवर्धप्रसुः
 कीर्त्त्या स[ञ्च]रितैः त्रिया च जितवान्धर्मात्म[ज नाङ्गतं?] ॥³⁸—[31].
 — — — [ध्वर]वज्रधूमनिवहैरत्यर्थमञ्जलिहै -
 रध्वन्भ्रान्तिभृतामशेषशिखिनां नृत्त -

19.

क्रियाहेतुभिः ।

— — — ७ तलो ७ — [पि?] म[घ]वा यज्ञान्य³⁹ — — [यते]
 धर्मस्तस्य गुणोत्तरे हि गणयत्य[त्वं न दो?]यं महान् ॥ —[32].
 आ[स]र्व्वी नाम महार्हव्यगजा⁴⁰ पुण्यचरितमहनीया ।
 अनसूया ऽत्रिसुनेरिव ॥⁴¹—[33].
 द्वितीयापि च तस्याभूद्भार्या सत्कुलसम्भवा ।
 चमाशीलार्ज -

20.

. ॥⁴²—[34].

. [न]मनघ ।

वक्ष नाम सुधर्माधिष्ठितम[भ्यु]न्नत सुनेत्रमिव ॥⁴³—[35].³⁴ Metre, Drutavilambita.³⁵ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); and of the next verse³⁶ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.³⁷ Metre, Bragdarā³⁸ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, and of the next verse³⁹ Read यज्ञान्य⁴⁰ Read अर्धगजा⁴¹ Metre, Āryā.⁴² Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)⁴³ Metre, Gīt

— — : स्वच्छ[म]तिर्विशुद्धचरितः सौजन्यरत्नाकरो
 वि[ष्णुर्दोष]हरश्च शौर्यगरिमन्ना[व्रा]ह्मण्य — — उ उ ।
 — — — उ[गदा]धरो गुणनिधिः साधुप्रियो वामनः
 प्र -

L 21. युञ्जथ [वभूवु?] — उ उ उ — — — उ — — उ उ ॥⁴⁴—[36].
 — — उ — उ [वि?]भुनातिगुणानुरा[गा]त्सलक्षणचितिभुजा च परीक्ष्य [सम्यक्?] ।
 सर्वे ऽ[सुनान्य?] उ उ — उ उ रं नियुक्ताः कार्येषु सुप्रशुचिशूरजनोचितेषु ॥⁴⁵—[37].
 अथ सलक्षणवर्म्मा[प्रभु?] पुनः ।
 अन्तर्वेदीविषये .

22 ॥⁴⁶—[38]
 — — — उ उ — उ — उ उ उ — — — उ — — उ उ
 शौर्योद्रेकविनिर्जिता निजविभोः पादावनम्रीकृताः ।
 कृत्वा कण्टकशोधनं जनपदे ऽपास्य प्रजानां भय
 ताभ्यः सविदधे च वृद्धिरसमा कीशस्य दण्डस्य च ॥⁴⁷—[39].
 हित्वा देहन्तिदश उ उ — भानुकन्याजला[न्त]:
 श्लाघे ऽनन्ते उ

23 उ उ [पर]मं ब्र[ह्म]सायुज्यमाप्ते ।
 शास्तारीणामिति स जयवर्म्मावनीन्द्रेण यत्ना -
 दात्मासत्तौ प्रथितमहिमा प्रातिहार्ये नियुक्तः ॥⁴⁸—[40].
 मौल, सद्गन्धर्वमा⁴⁹ शुचिरमलमतिः शास्त्रविद्वृष्टकर्मा
 वारमी दक्षः प्रगल्भः कर्तुरगरथारोहविघ्नः कृता[स्त्र]: ।
 [मन्त्रे गूढो?] ऽनुरागप्रभृतिगुणयुतये -

24 उ — — [नुभाव्य:]
 श्रीपृथ्वीवर्म्मानाम्ना तदनु नृपतिना मन्त्रिसुख्यस्य चक्रे ॥⁵⁰—[41]
 सर्वैरङ्गैः समृद्ध व्यधित निपुणधीस्तस्य राज्ञो ऽथ राज्य
 साचि[व्यं] विभ्र[दु]च्चैस्तदनु च मदनचोणिपालस्य सो ऽथ ।
 पाङ्गुखादिप्रयोगैः [स]मयसमुचितैः प्रह्वभावं नरेन्द्रा -
 क्रीत्वा सर्वान्क्रमेण व्यतनुत वसुधैश्वर्यमेकात[पत्रम्] ॥ —[42]

25 — — — उ उ — क्षमो ऽपि विविधैर्युक्तो गुणैर्धैरपि
 श्रीमान्नोद्धतिमान्गदाधर इति ब्रू[व्रू]ते जनो ऽथ [स्त्रयं?] ।
 गान्भीर्येण पयोनिधिं उ उ उ — — — उ — — [प्यसौ]
 बु[बु]द्ध्याध कृतवान्गुहं उ उ उ — [केनो]द्धतिर्भूयसी ॥⁵¹—[43]
 कलत्रं सन्तत्ये श्रुतमपि सदाचा[रवि]धये
 म[हीभू]त्यै वेदा वसु सकललोको[पकृतये?] ।

⁴⁴ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita
⁴⁵ Metre, Vasantatilakā.
⁴⁶ Metre, Āryā.
⁴⁷ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita

⁴⁸ Metre, Mandākrāntā
⁴⁹ Read सङ्गमः
⁵⁰ Metre, Śragdhārā, and of the next verse
⁵¹ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita

L. 26. — — — — — [प्रव]णमनसस्तस्य चरितैः

कलिस्तं प्रत्यस्तंगत इव स मेने खलु जनैः ॥⁶²—[44].

पुत्राः श्रीधरविद्याधराद[यो] यहुणैर्जगज्जयिनः ।

तस्याभूव[न्] ततो धुरि स्थितः सर्व्वपुत्रवतां ॥⁶³—[45].

इष्टापूर्तप्रचुर[सु]कतारम्भनित्यादृतेन

प्रासादो ऽयं — — — युतस्तेन निर्माप्यते च ।

प्रत्य — — —

27. — — — — — यणो ऽस्मि -

न्देवः सो ऽयं वस्तु हि महतां पुण्यकर्मोपयोगि ॥⁶⁴—[46].

किञ्चात्यर्थं विशुद्धै[र्व्व]सुभिरतिमहान्कारितस्तेन यद्वा -

[दि]दुग्रामस्य सीम्नि प्रचुरपृथुशिलाव(व)न्धरस्य[स्तुडा]ग ।

कूले ऽमेद्य[न्तदन्यौ]पलमथरचना — — — — —

— — — — — ॥⁶⁵—[47].

28. — — — — — णप्रदेशे ।

घटिताश्मकदम्ब(म्ब)केन व(व)प्री — [र]णः कारित इ[न्दु]गौरजीरः ॥⁶⁶—[48]

[के]डीना[स]⁶⁷ ग्रामस[न्नि]धाने [च]

कृतिना जनोपकृतये [सज्जला वापी] ॥⁶⁸—[49].

⁶⁹

29

TRANSLATION.

. ⁶⁰.

(Verse 1).—[*May Vishnu guard you, who,*] though possessed of a divine body which is marked by the *Śrīvatsa*,⁶¹ is yet wholly unperceived; [*who*], though the one cause of final liberation, holds the world fast in the snares of illusion; [*and who*]!

(2).—May the undulating lines of paint protect you, which, from the round breasts of the impassioned Lakshmi transferred unto the rock-like chest of Śrīdhara, are like a beautiful eulogy, set down by the god of love in clear characters, a record of ecstatic amorous dalliance!

⁶⁰ Metre, Śikharṇī.

⁶¹ Metre, Āryā.

⁶² Metre, Mandākrāntī

⁶³ Metre, Śragdhārā.

⁶⁴ Metre, Aupāchchhandanā

⁶⁵ The *akṣaras* here omitted may possibly be made out on the original inscription

⁶⁶ Metre, Āryā

⁶⁷ Here, at the end of line 28, from 35 to 40 *akṣaras* are almost completely effaced, and of the following line only three or four *akṣaras* are legible in the impression. I am unable to say whether there was more writing below line 29.

⁶⁸ Judging from the following verses, one would expect here some such phrase as "Om! Adoration to the holy Vāsudeva!"

⁶⁹ A particular mark or curl of hair on the breast of Vishnu

(Verse 3) — a king ⁶² named . . . , who, having defeated on the battle-field the king of Kanyakubja [*who had subdued?*] all princes, obtained exalted sovereignty

(4).—From him sprang Gandadeva, a ruler of the earth in the four quarters, expert in annihilating enemies whose massive arms were terrible through the itching of pride

(5) —From him was born, [*like?*] Indra , the illustrious Vidyādhara-deva, whose beautiful lotus-feet took rest on the diadems of all kings without exception.

(6) —As the good son of that king was born Vijayapāla, eminent by widespread fame (*and*) purifying by virtuous conduct, who exterminated all the wicked (*and*) gladdened all good men; who put an end to the-Kali age,. . . the earth

(7) —As his son was born Kirtivarmadeva, whose pure fame was sung in the three worlds, who, as it were, was Virtue, descended here to destroy the sin of the Kali age (?)

(8) —Who indeed vanquished the host of enemies, together with all the six internal enemies,⁶³ who day by day rendered more prosperous the seven constituent parts of the kingdom,⁶⁴ together with virtue, who extirpated the multitude of thorns⁶⁵ in the world, together with the strife induced by the impurity of the Kali age, and who made his command reach the borders of the sea, together verily with his widespread fame

(9) —His son was the lord, the illustrious king Sallakshanavarmadeva, who always kept the enemies awake by the weight of his prowess ; a leader of those versed in sacred lore, a kinsman of the virtuous, a store of arts, an abode of good conduct, and a tree of paradise to all suppliants for support

(10) —Who, by taking away the riches of enemies and bestowing them on all (*his*) people of good family, far removed that wretched misery, and whose to fortune, (*and*) in (*whose*) assembly there was not perceived any difference whatever between the kings doing homage to him and his other dependants, from the similarity of their garments, glittering with quantities of gold and jewels

(11) —As his son was born Jayavarmadeva, a dwelling-place of generosity, truth, policy, and heroism, by the rising sun of whose majesty princes, like lamps , were deprived of their lustre

(12).—Then the king Prithivivarman, the co-uterine younger brother of the illustrious king Sallakshanavarman, bore, equal to the task, the burden of the hereditary government

(13).—Who, hating the ill-behaved (*and*) greatly delighting in worthy people, desirous of taking lawful wealth (*and*) then expending it according to prescript on sacred objects, carefully protecting all beings and wholly intent on securing propriety of conduct, thus practised here—a noble art—the conduct of the golden age

(14) —From him was then born the protector of the earth Madanavarman, whose

⁶² Comparing verse 21, there can be no doubt that the king here spoken of is Dhanga, whose name would fit well into the metre. The beginning of the verse probably contained some reference to the fact that this king belonged to the Chandratreya (or Chandella) family

⁶³ Desire, wrath, covetousness, bewilderment, pride, and envy

⁶⁴ Compare Manu, IX, 294. "The king and his minister, his capital, his realm, his treasury, his army, and his ally, are the seven constituent parts (of a kingdom), (hence) a kingdom is said to have seven limbs (*anga*)" Bühler's *Translation*

⁶⁵ i.e., seditious people.

valour is famous in the three worlds; having witnessed the strength of whose arm people have credited as true the tale of Bhîma's marvellous strength.⁶⁶

(Verse 15) —Before whose name even, ever quickly flees the Chedi king, vanquished in fierce fight; (*and*) through dread of whom the king of Kâśi always passes his time in friendly behaviour; by whom moreover that ruler of Mâlava, full of arrogance, was quickly exterminated, while other monarchs, paying homage to him, have enjoyed supreme comfort.

(16).—From the seed, consisting in the pearls bright like the white-rayed (moon) from the heads of the elephants of his foes, which he repeatedly sowed on the field of battle, ploughed by the hoofs of impetuously charging horses (*and*) irrigated by the streams of blood gushing forth from the throats of enemies, there has grown up the creeping plant of (*his*) fame; that, sprinkled by him with the water (*poured out*) at donations, has overspread the bower which is the assembly-house⁶⁷ of (Brahman), sprung from the lotus —

(17).—Now then will be detailed the venerable lineage of the great ministers of pure conduct, who bore the burden of the government of these kings.

(18) —The son of the creator of the universe, to be honoured by all the worlds, (*was*) Angiras in his lineage was born the holy sage Gautama, a store of knowledge; who in the course of disputation, when Śambhu disguised as a Mīmāṃsaka showed the eye on his forehead, enraged, at once displayed an eye in the sole of his foot⁶⁸

(19).—That Akshapâda,—for whom in this world is he not an object of veneration, he who, able to expand the Nyâya doctrine, confuted false reasoning and then established the supreme greatness of the Lord?

(20) —In the thriving family of that abode of the might of fierce penance there was born in the course of time the wise Prabhâsa, the one resting-place of religious merit, the seat of a crowd of excellencies, whom, graced as he was by the brilliant play of overpowering eloquence, virtuous men respectfully went to see, as (*people visit*) the holy place Prabhâsa,⁶⁹ for their welfare.

(21) —A leader of those who are free from all deceit, (*and*) highly expert in the abstruse conduct of politics, he, having been (*duly*) tried, was appointed chief of all the ministers by Dhanga and king Ganda

(22).—(*And*) the tree of government which had struck very firm roots, when it was made to grow by being sprinkled with the water of his policy, always bore to those two kings the fruit of the three objects of life.⁷⁰

(23) —From him was born the virtuous Śivanâga, in understanding and wide sacred knowledge like Dhishana,⁷¹ who filled the extent of the regions with his fame, bright like the moon-light, (*and*) whose might could not be endured by the hosts of enemies in battle.

(24).—How is it at all possible (*duly*) to applaud the excellencies of that wise one, who, as soon as he had assumed the post of minister, alone, by his excellent conduct, gradually made the government of the king Vidyâdhara one to which all

⁶⁶ I need hardly say that I do not mean this to be a literal translation, although it gives exactly the sense of the original

⁶⁷ i.e., the whole universe

⁶⁸ An allusion to Gautama's other name Akshapâda, see the next verse.

⁶⁹ Or, perhaps, "the holy shrine of Prabhâsa"

⁷⁰ Virtue, wealth, and pleasure

⁷¹ i.e., Bṛhaspati, the preceptor of the gods.

the rulers of the earth were rendered for ever tributary, so that it surpassed all others on earth ?

(Verse 25) —As the moon, grateful to the eyes of mankind, (*arose*) from the pure sea of milk, so sprang from him Mahipāla, with pleasing brilliant qualities, who fulfilled the purport of his word by truth, that of his understanding by actions which bore good fruit, and that of his wealth by pious and beneficial deeds

(26) —Sustaining, to its full extent, the weighty burden of the important affairs of the king Vijayapāla, he, in whom valour was united with a blameless policy, became the standard of comparison among good ministers

(27) —From him was born, able to bear the weight of the world (*and*) endowed with endless excellencies, the wise Ananta, the one home of goodness, whose body always was resplendent from virtuous enjoyment

(28) —Whose younger brother was Yogeśvara, the seat of numerous excellencies, devoted as (Lakshmana,) the son of Sumitrā, was of Rāma.

(29) —(*Birth in*) this most noble family which had risen higher and higher, Brāhmanical rank most illustrious, study of the Vedas, spotless sacred knowledge, wealth shared with the learned, heroism always difficult to be withstood in battles, (*and*) everywhere pleasing but sincere speech,—what is there in which this noble-minded virtuously inclined Ananta did not surpass the world ?

(30) —(*Being the king's*) councillor in the very high office of counselling, (*the-very*) heart (*of the king*) in secret confidential matters, constantly [a leader of horses and] elephants among enemies, a superintendent of the forces of the town(?), an unrivalled protector of property, a vanquisher of adversaries, the sole chief of all heroes, —in what affair was he not the approved minister of the king Kīrtivāman ?

(31) —When a king has for his guide a minister of noble birth, endowed with understanding, uprightness and similar qualities, then there is clearly nothing so high that it would be difficult for him to attain to No wonder, then, that the lord Kīrtivāman by his fame and good acts and prosperity surpassed the son of Dharma⁷² (*even*), when that best of guides was governing the earth.

(32) —By the volumes of smoke of the sacrificial fires which touched the clouds (*and*) caused all peacocks, by whom they were mistaken for clouds, to dance, Maghavan a share of the sacrifice⁷³

(33) —[*His wife was a lady*] named Āsarvā, born in an illustrious family, venerable for her virtuous conduct, as Anasūyā (*was*) of the sage Atri,

(34) —And he had also another wife, sprung from a noble race, [*who by*] patience, good character, uprightness

(35) —[*She bore to him ?*] a faultless [*son*], named Vatsa, like the elevated Sunetra,⁷⁴ seated in the assembly of the gods (?)

(36).— of clear understanding (*and*) pure conduct, a mine of benevolence, and Vishnu, removing faults, bravery, dignity, piety, . . . , Gadādhara, a store of excellencies, Vāmana, fond of the good, and Pradyumna were [*his other sons (?)*] . .

⁷² i.e., Yudhisṭhira

⁷³ A portion of the verse being altogether illegible and the reading of the last line being doubtful, I am unable to give a proper translation The general sense no doubt is that the minister was frequently engaged in sacrificial acts.

⁷⁴ A son of Dhritarāshṭra

(Verse 37).— through (*his*) liking for distinguished qualities, having been properly tried, all were appointed by the king Sallakshanavarman in offices suitable to wise, upright, and valiant men.

(38).—Then [the lord] Sallakshanavarman , again, in the country of Antarvedi

(39).— utterly defeated by the excess of his heroism, were made to prostrate themselves at the feet of his master; having cleared the country of thorns (*and*) dissipated the fears of the subjects, he⁷⁵ in an unparalleled manner increased their treasure and power.

(40).—When the venerable Ananta, having abandoned his body in the waters of [*the river of*] the gods and of the daughter of the Sun,⁷⁶ had attained to supreme union with Brahman, he, considered the chastiser of the enemies (*and*) famous for his greatness, was eagerly appointed by the king Jayavarman, near his own person, in the office of *Pratihāra*.

(41).—And (*being*) a hereditary servant, born in a noble lineage, upright, of clear intellect, versed in sciences, tried by practice, eloquent, clever, resolute, expert in mounting elephants, horses and chariots, skilled in archery, [secret in council,] endowed with affection and other excellent qualities, (*and*) , he subsequently was appointed chief of the ministers by the illustrious king Prithivivarman.

(42).—Then sustaining the high office of minister, possessed of keen intelligence, he made the government of that king prosper in all its constituent parts, and so he did afterwards that of the king Madana. Having gradually reduced all princes to the state⁷⁷ of dependency by applying the six expedients⁷⁸ and so forth, each in due season, he made (*the king's*) sovereignty over the earth characterized by a single umbrella.⁷⁹

(43).— able, endowed with manifold multitudes of excellencies, illustrious, not haughty, spoken of by people as Gadādhara⁸⁰ incarnate(?), by his depth the ocean, by his understanding surpassing the preceptor [*of the gods* (?)],—who [*is there that has attained to*] greater elevation?

(44).—He has his wife for the procreation of children and his sacred knowledge for the practice of good conduct; the Vedas serve him for the welfare of the earth, and his wealth he has for the benefit of all people. Inclined as his mind is to people in consequence of his conduct indeed believe that with him the Kali age has come to an end (?)

(45).—Since he has got for his sons Śrīdhara, Vidyādhara, and the rest, who by their excellent qualities surpass all people, he takes the lead of all family men.

(46).—Always anxious to engage in pious and beneficial acts and other good deeds, he caused this edifice to be erected, endowed with in it there is here the god [*Nārāyaṇa* (?)]; for the wealth of the great is employed in acts of piety.

(47).—Moreover, with his exceedingly pure wealth, he caused carefully to be built on the boundary of the village of Deddu, a tank, charming with its masonry of many

⁷⁵ I believe that the personage here spoken of is Gadādhara, one of the sons of Ananta. See verses 36 and 43.

⁷⁶ i.e., at the confluence of the Ganga and Yamunā. Compare verse 55 of No. IV of the inscriptions from Khajurāho, *ante*, p. 148.

⁷⁷ Peace, war, marching, sitting encamped, dividing his forces, and seeking the support of a more powerful king.

⁷⁸ i.e., he made the king the one supreme ruler of the whole earth.

⁷⁹ i.e., the god Viṣṇu.

broad stones, (and) on the banks, not liable to be broken, with a mass of other stones,

(Verse 48).— in the place, he caused to be made, built with a collection of hewn stones, the water of which is pale like the moon

(49).—Kendī by name (?) and in the proximity of the village, by the wise one for the benefit of the people a tank of good water

II.

BATESVAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF PARAMARDIDEVA; OF THE VIKRAMA YEAR 1252.

The stone which bears this inscription¹ is said to have been found² in an ancient mound at Batesvar, a town in the Agra District of the North-Western Provinces, on the right bank of the Jumna, 35 miles south-east of Agra;³ and it is now in the Lucknow Museum. The stone is broken right through from top to bottom, but, the break being fairly clean, the *aksharas*, which in consequence are gone, are few, and can, with one or two exceptions, be readily supplied. Besides this, the upper proper left corner of the stone is broken away, causing the nearly complete loss of 23 *aksharas* at the end of the first, and of eight *aksharas* at the end of the second line.

The inscription consists of 24 lines. The writing covers a space of about 2' broad by 1' 8" high, and, with the exceptions already noted, it is fairly well preserved, so that everything of importance may be read with certainty. But the engraving being rather shallow and the surface of the stone somewhat worn, it is occasionally difficult, and in several places impossible, to trace the superscript letters in the impressions. The size of the letters is between $\frac{7}{16}$ " and $\frac{9}{16}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī, resembling those of the Mahobā inscriptions, of which photo-lithographs are given in Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XXI, plates xxii and xxiii. The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the introductory *om om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya* and the concluding *śrīr=astu*, the inscription is in verse throughout. It was composed by Devadhara, a son of Gadādhara, who was minister of peace and war of Paramardideva and a son of Lakshmidhara, of the Gauda lineage, written by Dharmadhara, a younger brother of Devadhara, and engraved by Mahārāja (?), the son of Somarāja (verses 30-32). As regards orthography, *ḥ* is denoted by the sign for *v* everywhere except in *udbabbhūvur*, line 10, *babbhūva*, lines 13, 14, 16, 20 and 22, and *bibharit*, line 24; the dental sibilant is fifteen times used for the palatal sibilant (*e g*, in *Saures*, line 1, *vindsa*, line 6, &c), and the palatal for the dental in *śaro*, line 11, *āśid*, line 14, and *śachiveshu*, line 21; before sibilants and *h* the dental *n* is employed instead of *anusvāra*, in the interior of simple words in *vanśas*, line 2, *payāns*, line 9, *hanso=vatansita*⁴, line 11, *hansas*, line 14, *pumānsam*, line 21, (but not in *avatamsah*, line 2), and, exceptionally, at the end

¹ The text of it has been previously published by Dr. Hultzsch in the *Zeitschrift D. Morg. Ges.*, vol. XI, pp. 61-64, and his transcript has been very useful to me. But my text will be found to differ in several places from Dr. Hultzsch's, especially in verse 22, and I differ from Dr. Hultzsch in the interpretation of the date contained in the last verse.

² I am somewhat doubtful about this, for the inscription appears to be the one mentioned by Sir A. Cunningham in *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XXI, p. 62, No. 52, as found on the bank of a lake at "Bagrari."

³ *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. II, p. 216, and Cunningham, *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. VII, p. 8.

of a word in *niramkuśan=sañcha*°, line 9, *adhikan=harin*°, line 10, and *vidyāvalān=sa*, line 22. Besides, *ujjala* is, as usual, spelt *ujjala* in lines 14 and 18. In respect of lexicography, it may be noted that the word *vibhanga* apparently is used in the sense of *bhanga*, in line 12

The proper object of the inscription is, to record (in verses 25-29) that Sallakshana, the minister of the king Paramardideva, built a temple of Vishnu, and a temple of Śiva at which the inscription was put up; and that this second temple was completed by Purushottama, the son of Sallakshana and his successor in the office of minister, after the death of his father. And by way of introduction the inscription (in verses 3-13) gives the genealogy of the king, and (in verses 14-24) that of his ministers. All we learn regarding the former is, that from Atri's eye sprang the moon, and from the moon the Chāndrātreyā princes; that one of them was Madanavarman, whose son was Yaśovarman, whose son again was the ruling prince Paramardideva. The lineage of the ministers, on the other hand, is as follows. in the *gotra* of Vasishtha there was Lakshmidhara; his son was Vatsarāja, and his son again Lāhada, Lāhada had for his wife Prabhā, who bore to him Sallakshana, whose son was Purushottama. Of these, Lāhada was chief minister of Madanavarman, while Sallakshana and Purushottama held the same position under Paramardideva. It may be noted that in the account of the ministers the name of the prince Yaśovarman is omitted.

The inscription is dated (in verse 34), in words only, in the Vikrama year counted by the wings (2), the faces of Śiva (5), and the Âdityas (12), i.e., in the Vikrama year 1252, on the 5th lunar day of the bright half of Âśvina, on a Sunday. The possible European equivalents for Vikrama 1252, Âśvina śukla 5, would be.—

for the northern current year,—Wednesday, 21st September, A.D. 1194,

for the northern expired or southern current year, Sunday,—10th September, A.D. 1195, when the fifth *tithi* of the bright half ended 14 hours 14 minutes after mean sunrise;

for the southern expired year,—Saturday, 28th September, A.D. 1196.

The true date accordingly is Sunday, 10th September, A.D. 1195, and the Vikrama year mentioned in the inscription must be taken to be the northern expired, or, possibly, the southern current year.

TEXT¹

L. 1.

ओं² ओं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

जयन्ति वा(बा)हवः सौ(शौ)रेखतुर्वर्गफलद्रुमाः ।

निर्भरश्चीपरीरभपर्याप्तपुलका ८ ८ ॥³—[1]

2.

८ — ८ — — ८ ८ — ८ — ८ ८ — ८ — — ८ ८ — ८ —

टि ।

इति च्छलात्सृष्टपयोधिपुत्रीपयोधरः पातु रथाङ्गपाणिः ॥⁴—[2].

अत्रैरजायत विलोचनपुण्डरीकाद्देवो गिरिन्द्र[तन*]यादयितावतंसः ।

वन्धस्ततीयसु ८ — ८ ८ — ८ — ८

¹ From impressions supplied to me by the Editor

² Expressed by a symbol

³ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

⁴ Metre, Upendravajrā

⁵ Read वग्

L. 3.

सुक्ताफ[लै]रिव यशोभिरशोभि शुभैः ॥⁶—[3].

अस्मिन्नुद्दामदोईण्डखण्डितारातिमण्डलाः ।

जग्निरै चारुचारिवा[खान्द्रा*]त्रियमहीभुजः ॥⁷—[4].

तेष्वाविरास विलसत्करवालदण्डद -

4.

भोलिनिर्हलितशात्रवगोत्रपक्षः ।

उद्दामदर्परिपुराजवलाभिघातव्यातोद्यमो मदनवर्धमहीमहेन्द्र[*] ॥⁸—[5].

सौधे सोच्छसित स्थित सकरण लीलाशुको व्याहृतो

दृष्टो

5.

वाय्वजलौघरुद्धनयन क्रीडाकुरङ्गीशिशुः ।

त्रासाद्यस्य यियासुना वनभुव कान्ताज[नि*]न द्विषां

प्रत्यावृत्तिनि[राश]मानसतया किङ्किन्न वाचेष्टितं ॥⁹—[6]

सिन्दूरिताहितमतङ्ग -

6.

जकुम्भ[पृष्ठे] येनाहितोलिमलिनः करवालदण्डः ।

युद्धेरिभिर्निजविनास(श)विसर्पि[शैष्ठ्य आ]¹⁰लोक केतुरिव [नू*]तनसूर्यसङ्गी ॥¹¹—[7].अजायत यशोवर्मा ततश्चन्द्र इवावुधैः¹² ।

7.

योभवज्जगदानन्दो म[हेष्ट]रशिरोमणिः ॥¹³—[8].

कुन्देन्दुकान्त्या त्रिजगद्विसारियदीयकीर्त्या धवलीकृत्येषु ।

केशेषु जा[ता व]त निर्जराणामभूतपूर्वा पलितस्य शृङ्गा ॥¹⁴—[9].

आसीत्ततो न -

8.

मनरेन्द्रमौलिरत्नप्रभापाटलपादपीठः ।

अखर्व्वगर्व्वप्रतिपक्षिसार्ध[दो]ईर्ष्यमर्ही परमर्हिदेवः ॥ —[10].

परस्परविरोधस्य [त]स्य राज्ये कथैव का ।

सङ्गत त्रीसरस्वत्योरपि येन प्रवर्त्तित ॥¹⁵—[11].

9.

प्रचलति ककुम्भ[ञ्ज]याय यस्मिन्हरिखुरधूतधरापरागपु[ञ्ज]ः ।

कवलितरवरिस्मि(स्मि)तीव्रतापादिव पिवति स्म प[या]न्त्रि¹⁶ तोयरासे(शे): ॥¹⁷—[12].यत्प्रतापदहने निरकुशस्यश्चरत्यपि¹⁸

10.

सपन्नसम्यसु ।

¹⁹उ[ह]भूवुरधिक[न्ह]रिन्मणिस्था(श्या)मकोमलतृणानि सर्व्वतः ॥²⁰—[13].

अथास्ति लोकव्रितयप्रतीतं वसिष्ठगो[त्र*] सुकृतैकपात्रं ।

यस्मिन्नजायन्त विमु(शु)द्धहृत्ता विप्राः पयो -

⁶ Metre, Vasantatilakā⁷ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubb)⁸ Metre, Vasantatilakā.⁹ Metre, Śardūlavikrīḍita¹⁰ Of the three *aksharas* in brackets only the consonant of the first is absolutely certain, but above it at least one line of the superscript vowel is visible, the third *akshara* was originally ना, which appears to have been altered to ना There can be no doubt that before आलोकि we require a masculine adjective, qualifying both करवालदण्डः and केतु.¹¹ Metre, Vasantatilakā¹² Read इवावुधै¹³ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubb)¹⁴ Metre, Upajāti, and of the next verse¹⁵ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubb)¹⁶ Read पयांति¹⁷ Metre, Pūshpitāgrā¹⁸ Read निरकुश स०.¹⁹ Read ०रधिक हरि०²⁰ Metre, Rathoddhatā

- L. 11. धाविव मौक्तिकौघाः ॥²¹—[14].
 तेषु क्रमादखिलसा(शा)स्त्रश(स)रोविहारिहन्तोवतन्सितशिवपतिपादपद्मः²² ।
 लक्ष्मीधरः स्फुरित[भास्व]दसी(शी)तरस्त्रि(स्त्रि)सत्र(व्र)द्वचरिगुणमौक्तिकसिं धुरासीत् ॥
²³—[15].
12. यदध्वरोक्तासिद्धतास(श)धूमलेखाः स्फु[टा]नेकविभङ्गिभाजः ।
 दिगङ्गनापीनपयोधरेषु विलास[वे]²⁴णित्रियमात्रय[न्त ॥²⁵—[16].
 [च]लभत जनिमस्मात्सचरित्रैकपात्रं विनयसदनमे -
13. कं वत्सराजो द्विलेन्द्रः ।
 जलधिरिव [गभीर]²⁶ शैलवहेयसारो सुररिपुरिव लक्ष्मीसंनयो यो व[भू]व ॥²⁷—[17].
 निर्मलगुणगणव[तश्च मि*]द्वोदयमोदिनोऽसु(स्व)जस्येव ।
 शक्तद्विजपरिभोग्या
14. वभूव यस्यामला लक्ष्मीः ॥²⁸—[18].
 आशी(सी)दशेषश्रुतिसिंधुहन्तस्तस्यात्मजो²⁹ लाङ्गडनामधेयः ।
 पु[पोष] यो निर्मलवाग्विलास[रे]ने [च*] यः सज्जनमानसेषु ॥³⁰—[19].
 मंत्रिणां धुरि कलोज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)ल -
15. कार्यं यश्चकार मदनचित्तिपालः ।
 विष्टपत्रितयमे[व?] जिगीयुः पचवाण इव सी(शी)तमयूखं ॥³¹—[20].
 कुटुम्ब(स्व)कुसुदप्रौढप्रमोदने प[टी*]यसी ।
 तस्यासीद्विजराजस्य प्रभा हृदयव -
16. क्षमा ॥³²—[21].
 ततो वभूव द्विजरा[श्च]मक्षः सक्षक्षणाचरित्रपात्रम् ।
 अ[भू]क्षि[नि]त्रः परमर्हिदेवः क्षोणीश्वरो येन विनिर्मलेन ॥³³—[22].
 राज्य - [रम]शेषमेव भुजयोर्विन्यस्य यस्य स्वयं
 वीर -
17. श्रोपरमर्हिभूपरिहटः प्रौढप्रमो[दो]दयः ।
³⁴त्रस्यद्वा(द्वा)लकुलंगसा(शा)वकदृशासुहामकामसृष्टां
 पत्र(त्र)न्यासकलाविलासर[सि]क[स्व*]गन्तोभवत्संततम् ॥³⁵—[23].
 लक्ष्मीकेलिनिकेतन -
18. स भजतो मित्रोदयस्मरतां
 दूराधःकृतकंठकस्य गुणिनो लोकैकतापच्छिदः ।
 अभोजस्य च तस्य च त्रिभुवने साधर्म्यमत्युज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)लं
 वैधर्म्यं तु पराधुखः स न कदाप्यासीद्विजाधीश्व -

Metre, Upajāti

²¹ Read •ईसीवराचित•.

²² Metre, Vasantatilakā.

²³ This akṣhara originally was वि

²⁴ Metre, Upajāti.

²⁵ The akṣharas in these brackets are doubtful. The first of them looks more like स than like श, of the second, the consonant appears certainly to be म, not स, and the third, in the impression, is quite indistinct. Dr. Hultzsch has read ससृष्ट .

²⁶ Metre, Mālinī.

²⁷ Metre, Āryā

²⁸ Read •ईसस•.

²⁹ Metre, Upajāti

³⁰ Metre, Svāgatā

³¹ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

³² Metre, Upajāti

³³ कुरंग, probably only by mistake, for कुरंग

³⁴ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, and of the next verse.

L. 19.

रे ॥ —[24].

[प्रा]सादो वेषवस्त्रेन निर्मितोन्मत्तवदरिम् ।

भूर्धा स्वस(य)ति यो नित्य पदमस्यैव मन्थनम् ॥^{२४}—[25].

अकारय[ञ] स्फटिकावटातमसाविदग्ध[न्दि]रमिन्दुमौलेः ।

न जातु यस्मिन्निवसन्त दे -

20.

वः कैलासवासाय चकार चेतः ॥^{२५}—[26]

पीताम्ब(म्ब)रं यस्य ययो बभूव हृदयं न यस्य वसुविजज्ञे ।

गुणोत्करी यस्य च नन्दजीभूदासीत् [त]न्मातुर्गोपितमाख्यः ॥ —[27].

विभुवनमहनीयह -

21.

तद्वहं सिग्मपि यं परमर्हिपार्यवेन्द्र ।

अनयत ग्र(म)चिवेषु सुप्यभावं जगनि गुण हि पुमान्मन्वयन्ति ॥^{२६}—[28].अनेनाचारसु(ग)चिना ब्र(व्र)ह्मलोके ि[वह^{२७}]गरि[.] ।

कीर्त्तन जनकस्येदमसिद्धं सिद्धिमापि -

22.

तन् ॥^{२८} ॥ —[29].

[गौ]डान्वयैकेतिलक्ष्म्य गटावराख्यो लक्ष्मीवरस्य तनय कविचक्रवर्ती ।

विद्यावताम् परमः परमर्हिदेवसधानविग्रह^{२८}]महासचिवो बभूव ॥^{२९}—[30].

तस्यात्मजो देववर कवी -

23.

न्द्र प्रस(य)स्तिनेतामनुज्ञाङ्कार ।

अस्यानुजो धर्मधरस्य धीरः कुतूहलादा(दा)लकविर्निर्लेख ॥^{३०} ॥ —[31].

उच्चकार चमत्कारकारक सर्वगित्पिनान् ।

. [धी]रो महागज. सीमराजाहभूरिमान् ॥^{३१}—[32]

ग्र -

24

सुख विस्तुय विभर्त्ति यावज्जटाकलापं च सु[ज्ञान]रं च ।

पा[यो]विज धाम च कौन्तुमह स्थिरान्तु कीर्त्तिश्च ह्यतिश्च तावत् ॥^{३२}—[33].

पञ्च[व्र]त्तमुखादित्यमध्ये विक्रमव[त्]रे ।

आश्विनगुक्तपद्म्यां वासरे वासरेगितु ॥^{३३}—[34].चीरन्तु ॥^{३४}

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Om ! Adoration to the holy Vāsudeva !

(Verse 1) —Victorious are the arms of Śāuri,^{२४} the trees which yield the four objects of life,^{२५} every hair on which [becomes] erect (with pleasure) at the close embrace of Lakshmi.

(2).—May he who holds the discus in his hand,^{२६} protect [you], he who under the pretence of touched the breasts of the daughter of the ocean^{२७}!

^{२४} Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh)^{२५} Metre, Upajati, and of the next verse^{२६} Pead पुसायमः^{२७} Metre, Pushpitāgrā^{२८} Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh)^{२९} Pead विद्यावर्त्त म^{३०} Metre, Vasantatilakā.^{३१} Metre, Upajati.^{३२} Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh)^{३३} Metre, Upajati^{३४} Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh)^{३५} i.e., Vishnu Kṛishna.^{३६} Virtue, wealth, pleasure, and final liberation^{३७} i.e., Lakshmi.

(Verse 8) —From the eye-lotus of Atri was born the god⁶⁰ (*who is*) the ornament of the beloved husband of the daughter of the lord of mountains. From him [*sprang*] this race [*whoh*].....has shone with its bright fame, as if (*decorated*) with pearls.

(4).—In it there were born, of pleasing conduct, the [Chândrâtreyā] princes, who by their powerful massive arms have crushed the hosts of enemies.

(5).—Among them appeared the lord of the earth Madanavarman, who with his flashing sword scattered (*his*) adversaries (*and*) whose vigour became known by his onslaught on hostile kings, elated with pride; (*resembling*) the great Indra who cut off the wings of the mountains with his thunderbolt (*and*) whose might became famous by his killing (*the demon*) Vala.

(6).—The wives of his enemies,—standing sighing in their palaces, addressing in pitiful terms their favourite parrots, looking, their sight dimmed by streams of tears, at the young ones of their pet antelopes,—what did they not do when, afraid of him, they were about to depart for the forest, (*and*) when their minds had no hope ever to return?

(7).—In battle his sword, applied by him to the broad frontal globes, covered with red lead, of the elephants of adversaries, (*and*) darkened by the bees⁶¹ (*which stuck to it*), was by his enemies seen moving rapidly to their own destruction, like Rāhu,⁶² coming in contact with the new (*ly risen*) sun

(8).—As the moon, the crest-jewel of Maheśvara, (*arose*) from the ocean, so was born from him Yaśovarman, who was an ornament of great rulers, causing joy to the people.

(9).—Whose fame, spreading in the three worlds with the loveliness of the jasmine and the moon, made the hair (*of men*) appear white, and thus caused the unprecedented notion that people, before they had attained to old age, had, alas! turned grey.

(10).—From him has sprung Paramardideva whose foot-stool is pale-red with the lustre of the crest-jewels of kings bowing down (*before him, and*) who crushes the pride in their arms of crowds of antagonists, filled with no mean conceit.

(11).—How could one even mention mutual conflict in the reign of this (*king*), who has brought about the union of both fortune and eloquence (*in his own person*)?

(12).—When he marched out to conquer the regions, the clouds of dust raised by the hoofs of his horses, suffering from intense heat as it were because they had devoured the rays of the sun, swallowed the water of the sea

(13).—Although the fire of his prowess spreads, unchecked, over the habitations of his rivals, there have yet on all sides sprung up in abundance tender blades of grass dark-green like emeralds.—

(14).—Now there is, well known in the three worlds, the family of Vasishṭha, the unique receptacle of good acts, in which were born sages of pure conduct, as heaps of pearls (*are found*) in the ocean.

(15).—Among these, there was in the course of time Lakshmidhara, a swan sporting in the lake of all sciences, who ornamented the lotus-feet of the husband of Śivā; an ocean of the pearls of good qualities rivalling the brilliantly shining sun.

(16).—The lines of smoke of whose bright sacrificial fires, with their numerous clearly visible undulating lines, assumed the beautiful appearance of braids of hair (*put*) playfully on the big breasts of the women of the quarters.

⁶⁰ i.e., the moon, borne on the head by Śiva, the husband of Pārvatī.

⁶¹ The bees had sat before on the temples of the elephants

⁶² The demon who is supposed to seize the sun and the moon and thus to cause eclipses.

(Verse 17) —From him took his origin the chief of the twice-born Vatsarāja, an unique receptacle of good conduct, a home of propriety; who was deep like the ocean, reputed for his firmness like a mountain, and, like the enemy of Mura,⁵³ the resort of fortune.

(18).—Endowed as he was with a crowd of spotless excellencies and delighted at the elevation of friends, his righteous wealth became an object of enjoyment for pure twice-born people, just as the faultless beauty of the lotus, which has many clean fibres and blooms at the rising of the sun, is enjoyed by white birds.

(19).—He had a son, named Lâhada, a swan in the sea of sacred lore, who nurtured the play of graceful utterance and dwelt, as in lakes, in the minds of good men.

(20).—Him, whose person was beautified by (*his acquaintance with*) the arts, the king Madana placed at the head of his counsellors, just as the god of love does the cool-rayed (moon), when about to subdue the three worlds.

(21).—That king of the twice-born had (*for his wife*), dear to his heart, Prabhâ, (*a lady*) dexterous in bringing into full bloom the family-lotus.

(22) —From her sprang the king of the twice-born⁵⁴ in human form, Sallakshana, a receptacle of pleasing conduct; through whom, free from stains, Paramardideva has become a lord of the earth with three eyes.

(23) —Having placed on whose arms the whole [*burden*] of government, the illustrious lord of the earth, the brave Paramardin, a cause of excessive joy to those whose eyes are like the eyes of frightened young deer and who were filled with boundless love, always let his mind delight in the playful art of ornamenting (*their bodies*).

(24) —Being the abode of the play of fortune, smiling with joy at the elevation of friends, having laid seditious people quite low, being endowed with excellent qualities (*and*) the one remover of the distress of the people, it was quite clear in the three worlds that he shared the properties of the day-lotus, which is the abode of the play of Lakshmi, blooms at the rising of the sun, is quite free from thorns, has many fibres (*and*) cools in an unsurpassed manner the heat of people; but he differed (*from the day-lotus*) in this that he was never averse from the supreme lord of the twice-born⁵⁵

(25).—He erected a temple of Vishnu, containing (*an image of*) Hari, which with its top always touches his own middle stride⁵⁶

(26).—And he also caused this crystal-white habitation of the moon-crowned (Śiva) to be built, residing in which the god has never turned his thoughts to dwelling on Kailâsa.

(27).—From him sprang (*a son*), named Purushottama,⁵⁷ whose fame has taken possession of the sky, whose appearance is recognized to be beautiful, and whose crowd of excellencies causes rejoicing;

⁵³ i.e., Vishnu, the husband of Lakshmi, the goddess of fortune

⁵⁴ i.e., the moon, and, accordingly, his master Paramardideva becomes the lord with three eyes, i.e., Śiva, on earth, Sallakshana being the third eye of the king

⁵⁵ i.e., Śiva, in the case of Sallakshana, and the moon, in the case of the day lotus.

⁵⁶ i.e., the sky

⁵⁷ *Purushottama* is one of the names of Vishnu, and some of the terms of the original verse are so chosen as to be applicable also to that deity, for *sudarâna* and *nandaka* are the names of Vishnu Kṛishna's discus and sword, and *pidm-lâra* would denote his yellow garment, Vishnu himself being called *Pitdmbara*, 'dressed in yellow clothes'

(Verse 28).—whom, old in conduct that deserves to be glorified in the three worlds, though still a youth, the king Paramardin has appointed to be chief of his ministers; for that which makes a man valued in the world, is his qualities.

(29).—He, pure in his conduct, has completed this praiseworthy work of his parent who roams about in Brahman's world,⁵³ which had been left incomplete.—

(30).—Lakshmidhara, the unique ornament of the Gauda family, had a son named Gadādhara, a supreme chief of poets, who, first among the learned, was the great minister of peace and war of Paramardideva.

(31).—His son, the chief of poets, Devadhara, has composed this unequalled eulogy; and his younger brother, the steadfast Dharmadhara, the young poet, has eagerly written it.

(32).— son of Somarāja, the steadfast Mahārāja (?), who rouses the admiration of all artizans, has engraved it.—

(33).—As long as Śambhu wears his tresses of matted hair and the light which has risen from the ocean,⁵⁴ and Vishnu his breast (?) and the Kaustubha jewel, so long may the fame (of the founders) and (their) work endure!

(34).—In the year of Vikrama, counted by the wings (2), the faces⁵⁵ of the three-eyed (Śiva) (5), and the Âdityas (12), on the fifth (lunar day) of the bright half of Âśvina, on the day of the lord of the day.⁵⁶

May fortune attend!

XXVI.—JHANSI STONE INSCRIPTION OF SALLAKSHANASIMHA (?).

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH D., C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

The stone which bears this inscription was found, in July 1887, in the walls of the ruined Fort of Jhānsī, in the North-Western Provinces, and is now in the Lucknow Museum. It measures about 3' 1" by 1' 7", and contains fragments of 32 lines of writing disposed on the stone as may be seen from the photo-lithograph. The original inscription must have been a very large one; for not only did it contain more than 32 lines, but the actually remaining portions of the lines 21—24 enable us also to infer that each line, in its complete state, held about 90 *aksharas*, and measured at least 4' 6" in length. The existing writing is on the whole well preserved. The size of the letters is between $\frac{3}{8}$ " and 1". The characters are Nāgarī of about the twelfth century. The language is Sanskrit; and, what remains of the inscription, is in verse. The inscription was written and engraved very carefully, and in respect of orthography it is only necessary to state that *ḷ* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, and that the dental sibilant is occasionally employed for the palatal.

The inscription is in so fragmentary a state that I fail to perceive the object for which it was composed, and am unable to derive from it any connected sense; and, accordingly, I can do little more than point out the proper names which occur in it.

In line 2 the inscription speaks of the river of the gods, the Ganges, as the resting-place of Kanyākubja; from which I would infer that this record has reference to the

⁵³ i.e., who died before the temple was finished.
⁵⁴ i.e., the moon.

⁵⁵ Śiva is called *Pañchamukha*, 'the five faced'.
⁵⁶ i.e., on Sunday.

rulers of Kanyākubja themselves, or to certain chiefs who owed allegiance to them. According to line 4, the moon begat a son named Jayanta. Lines 5 and 6 appear to mention two chiefs—Sīdhuka and Māmaka (?)—of whom the elder one became king. Other chiefs, who kept the Bhīllas (line 7) in order, are spoken of in the following lines which appear to record the building of a tank, the establishment of a grove—called (line 8) Kanhapādi (?),—and the erection of a temple, and contain the name of the village Dugdhakupya (line 10). In line 15 three chiefs appear to be spoken of, the second of whom is called Lakkhata and the third Bajahpāla. Line 18 records that somebody married two wives who somehow or other are brought in connection with the Chaulukya family, and one of whom bore the name Rājāladevī. In line 20 we meet with the prince Kīrtivarman who is protected from somebody (the Chedi king Kaina (?)); and line 21 speaks of three kings, one of whom appears to be again Kīrtivarman. Line 23 mentions the son of the illustrious Satyavatī, who perhaps defeated a certain Ganapāla (?), and did something to the rule of Udayāditya, the lord of Avanti. Line 25 perhaps contains the name Nṛsiṃha, and line 26 that of the illustrious Hīra or Hīrāmśu; and line 27 mentions, in a manner as if he had been living at the time, the illustrious Sallakshanasimha, who probably was engaged in fight with the troops of the Yavanas (line 30) or Muhammadans.

Other inscriptions may yet be discovered which will throw light on this one. For the present, I can only say that, of the princes mentioned here, Kīrtivarman probably is the Chandella king of that name, the contemporary of the Chedi king Kainadeva, and Udayāditya the ruler of Mālava, who is spoken of in two Chedi inscriptions of the period; but that I see no cogent reason for identifying Sallakshanasimha with the Chandella king Sallakshanavarman, or for assigning this inscription to the Chandella rulers.

TEXT.

- 1.²³[श्यामो]नुव्रतसुवृकोत्पलदल
2.⁴हेतुं कन्याकुल(क)प्रतिष्ठा सुरसरितमपि प्रीति[मा]....
3.⁵कद.पारदृशां तताध्वरचुयां तिस्रायिनां नित्य[शी?]
4.⁶न जयन्तनामा तेनेन्दुनाजनि ततः प्रयतेन स्रतुः ॥
5.⁷लुहिरदतुरगक्रोडयामू निगीयू यात्राकाले कचिदपि वह्निश्चेत्तुर्वीर-
[सि?]
6.⁸[स?]ीधुकमामकाविति ततो ज्येष्ठस्तदासीनृपः ॥⁹अत्रैरितोजनि सुतः
सुहृती ययो . . .
- 7¹⁰सज्ज[ल]वापिकां व(व)लवतोर्वीरैर्दक्षिणदेशस्थितान् । भिक्षानुव्रतरहसः
करल[ग]त्कोदण्डगर्वोद्भटा[नु]

¹ I hope soon to have an opportunity to treat fully of the history of the Chandella and Chedi rulers. For Udayāditya of Mālava also an absolutely certain date is now available.

² The impression shows that the line here numbered 1, was preceded by one or more other lines.

³ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛdita.

⁴ Metre, Śragdharā.

⁵ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛdita.

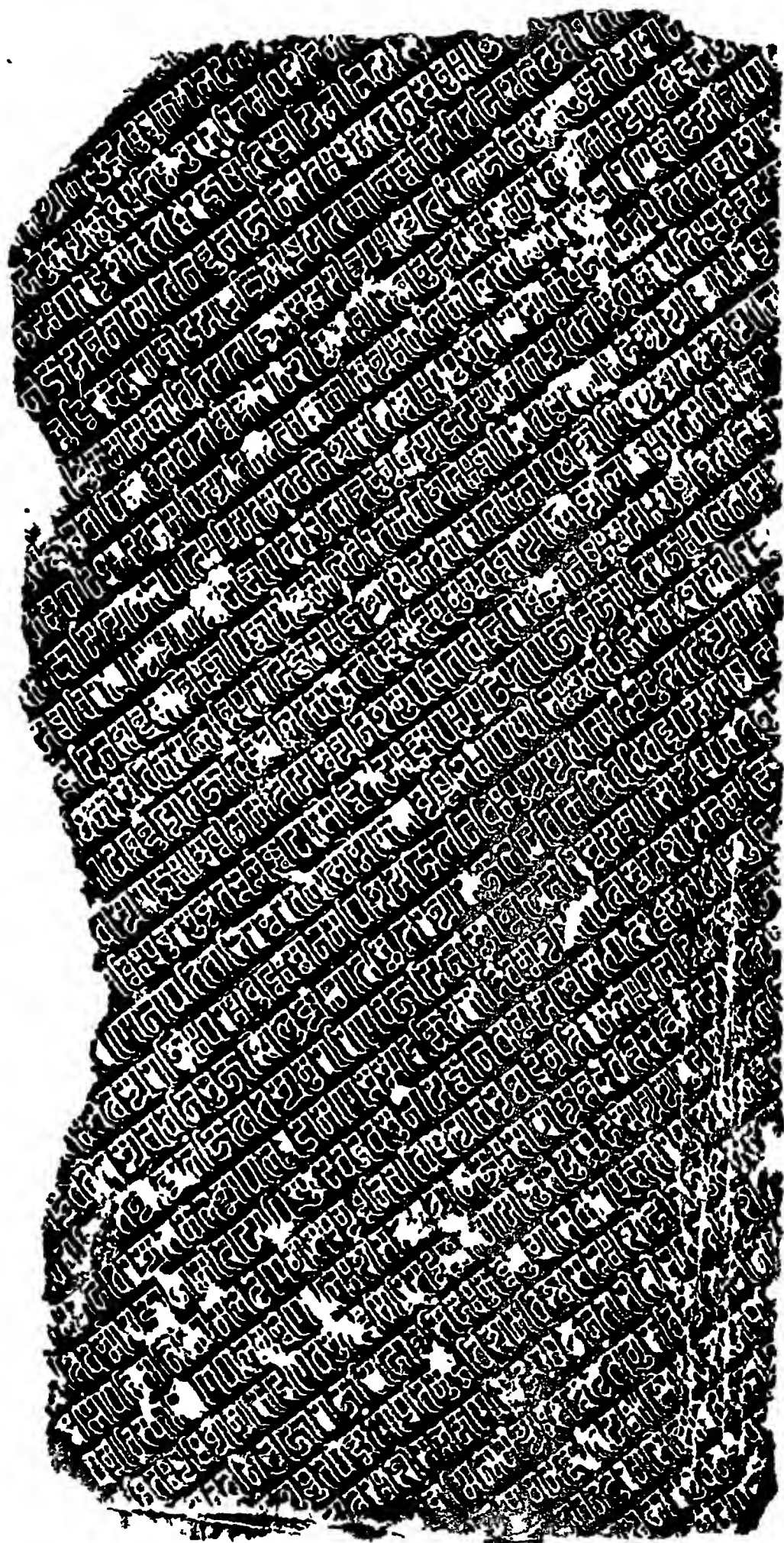
⁶ Metre, Vasantatilakā.

⁷ Metre, Mandākrāntā.

⁸ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛdita.

⁹ Metre, Vasantatilakā.

¹⁰ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛdita.



The inscription opens with an invocation of Śiva. Verse 5 ends with the words :— ' From this beloved of the night (i.e., the moon) there sprang a race beloved by all,' and the next two verses seem to have treated of the kings of the lunar race. ' Among these there was Nāḍyana . . . ' (v. 8). Only three syllables remain of the next verse.

Verse 10 begins as follows :— ' Then there was that king, Jeṣā by name, after whom Jeṣābhukti was (named), just as this earth (prithivī) after Prithu. His younger brother, called Vijā . . . ' The two brothers Jeṣā and Vijā are identical with Jeṣṭhaka and Vijṭhaka, who are mentioned in another fragmentary inscription.⁶ Professor Kielhorn has further identified both pairs of names with Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti⁷ or Vijaya,⁸ the sons of Vākpāti. According to verse 10 of the present inscription, Jeṣā (or Jeṣṭhaka) gave his name to Jeṣābhukti (also called Jeṣābhuktika⁹ or Jeṣākabhukti¹⁰), ' the dominion of Jeṣā (or Jeṣṭhaka). ' This old name of Bundelkhand, the country which was ruled over by the Chandellas, is the original of the vernacular form Jajāhātī or Jajāhotī,¹¹ just as the modern Tirhut is derived from Tirabhukti.¹²

The purport of the mutilated verses 11 to 16 cannot be ascertained. Verse 17 is almost complete and runs as follows :— ' There appeared a blessing for the earth, called the illustrious Dhanga, who caused the destruction of his enemies and who, by the strength of his arms, equalled even the powerful Hamvīra, who had proved a heavy burden for the earth.' Hamvīra or Hambīra is a further corruption of Hammīra, the Sanskritized form of امر which appears on the coins of the Pathān kings of Delhi.¹³ Professor Kielhorn has published three inscriptions of Dhanga,¹⁴ which are dated in Samvat 1011, 1055 and 1059, or A. D. 954, 998 and 1002. The third inscription was composed after Dhanga's death, which it mentions. Accordingly the Hambīra or Amīr, who is stated to have been Dhanga's contemporary, seems to be identical either with Sabuktagin (A. D. 977 to 997) or with his son Mahmūd of Ghazna, whose first two expeditions to India fell in A. D. 1000 and 1001. Firishṭa¹⁵ reports that Jayapāla, the king of Lahore, was, on the occasion of his second defeat by Sabuktagin, supported with troops and money by the king of Kālañjara. As Kālañjara, after Yaśovarman who conquered it,¹⁶ seems to have been the capital of the Chandellas,¹⁷ it is not improbable that this remark refers to Dhanga, and that Hambīra has to be identified with

⁶ *Ante*, p. 121. The affix *la* seems to be added, in order to make the two Hindi names look like Sanskrit words. Similar masculine in *ā* are Māhā, Mālā, and Ghikā in a Delhi inscription, which was published by myself in the *Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morg. Ges.* vol. XI, p. 66, and by Professor Eggeling, *ante*, p. 93.

⁷ *Ante*, p. 123.

⁸ *Ante*, p. 138.

⁹ *Ante*, p. 84.

¹⁰ Cunningham's *Arch. Sur. India*, vol. X, plate xxxii, No. 10, vol. XXI, p. 174.

¹¹ *Ibid.* vol. II, p. 412, the same author's *Ancient Geography of India*, vol. I, p. 481. Alberdus's *India*, translated by Sachau, vol. I, p. 202. Elliot's *History of India*, vol. I, p. 57.

¹² *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV, p. 304. The form *Tirahuti* occurs in Thānātha's *History of Buddhism in India*, translated from Tibetan into German by Schiefner, see the Index.

¹³ See *ante*, p. 62, note 6, and Thomas' *Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Delhi, passim*. The Hammīra, who is mentioned in Kalhan's *Rajatarangini* (taramga vii, verses 63 and 64) as a contemporary of Samgrāmāraja (A. D. 1003 to 1029), is probably meant for Mahmūd of Ghazna.

¹⁴ *Ante*, pp. 136 and 137, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVI, p. 202.

¹⁵ Translated by Briggs, vol. I, p. 18.

¹⁶ *Ante*, p. 128, verse 31.

¹⁷ In three grants published by Professor Kielhorn (*Ind. Ant.* vol. XVI, p. 201), the Chandella kings Dhanga, Devararman, and Madanavarman, bear the title of *Kālāñjarādhipati* or 'lord of Kālāñjara.'

Sabuktagin, and not with Mahmūd of Ghazna. That Dhanga was far from victorious, is indirectly confirmed by the subjoined inscription, which says only that he 'equalled,' but not that he conquered, Hambira

Verse 18 is again mutilated. Verse 19 describes Dhanga's son and successor Ganda:—'From him (*viz.*, Dhanga) there sprang an ornament of the earth, called the illustrious Ganda, an unrivalled hero, who bore all the parts of the earth on his arms, and the fierce fire of whose wrath'. General Cunningham has satisfactorily identified Ganda with Nandā, king of Kālañjara, who, according to the Muhammadan historians, was twice attacked by Mahmūd of Ghazna in A. D. 1021 and 1023.¹⁸

Verse 20 is incomplete. Verse 21 gives the name of Ganda's son and successor — 'From him (*viz.*, Ganda) there sprang that king Vidyādhara, who gathered the flowers of the fame of his enemies'. Verse 22 probably refers to the same Vidyādhara — 'Bhojadeva, together with Kalachuri-chandra (*i.e.*, the moon of the Kalachuris), worshipped, full of fear, like a pupil, (*this*) master of warfare, who had caused the destruction of the king of Kanyākubja, and who was lying on a couch.' As the three Chandella kings Ganda, Vidyādhara, and Vijayapāla must have reigned between Samvat 1055¹⁹ and Samvat 1107, the date of the grant of Devavarman,²⁰ or A. D. 998 and 1050,—'Bhojadeva' seems to be identical with Bhojadeva of Dhārā, for whom we have the two dates A. D. 1021 and 1042.²¹ 'The moon of the Kalachuris' refers to one of the Kalachuri kings of Chedi, perhaps Kokalla II.²² 'The king of Kanyākubja' cannot be identified at present, as we know nothing of the kings of Kanauj between A. D. 948²³ and 1097.²⁴

Verse 23 contains the name of Vidyādhara's successor — 'There was (*a king*) called Vijayapāla, whose conquest of the world was stopped (*only*) by the ocean'. As we learn from verse 24, he was a contemporary of Gāngeyadeva of Chedi, who was reigning about A. D. 1030 —²⁵ 'When Gāngeyadeva, who had conquered the world, perceived before him (*this*) terrible one, the lotus of his heart closed the knot (*i.e.*, the flower?) of pride in battle.'

The inscription omits mentioning Devavarman, whose grant is dated in Samvat 1107 or A. D. 1050.²⁶ Verse 25 mentions the reign of his brother Kirtivarman, whose inscription is dated in Samvat 1154 or A. D. 1098.—²⁷ 'From him (*i.e.*, Vijayapāla) there sprang the illustrious Kirtiva[rman], (*who was endowed*) with all the virtues of Bharata . . .'. Verse 26 records that Kirtivarman conquered Lakshmīkarna — 'Just as Purushottama (*Vishnu*), having produced the nectar by churning with the mountain (*Mandara*) the rolling (*milk*) ocean,²⁸ whose high waves had swallowed many mountains, obtained (*the goddess*) Lakshmi together with the elephants (*of the eight regions*),—he (*viz.*, Kirtivarman), having acquired fame by crushing with his strong arm the haughty Lakshmīkarna, whose armies had destroyed many

¹⁸ Cunningham's *Arch. Sur. India*, vol. II, p. 452, *kirishita*, translated by Briggs, vol. I, pp. 63 and 66, Elliot's *History of India*, vol. II, pp. 463 and 467.

¹⁹ See note 14, above.

²⁰ *Ind. Ant.* vol. XVI, p. 204.

²¹ *Ibid.* vol. VI, p. 51. Dr. Buhler in the *Wiener Sitzungsberichte*, 1888, p. 630.

²² Cunningham's *Arch. Sur. India*, vol. IX, p. 105.

²³ *Ante* page 172.

²⁴ *Ind. Ant.* vol. XVIII, p. 10.

²⁵ Cunningham's *Arch. Sur. India*, vol. IX, p. 106, Alberuni's *India*, translated by Sachau, vol. I, p. 202.

²⁶ See note 20.

²⁷ *Ind. Ant.* vol. XVIII, p. 237.

²⁸ *प्रलय* governs two accusatives. Compare *सुधां पीरन्निधिं मयानि*, quoted by Drs. Bohtlingk and Roth, *s. v.* *मय*, from the *Siddhanta-Laumudi*.

princes, obtained splendour in this world together with elephants' Lakshmīkarna is identical with Karna of Chedi,²⁹ whose defeat at the hands of Kirtivarman is related in the prologue of Krishnamisra's *Prabodhachandrodaya*. This drama was acted before Kirtivarman at the command of his general, a Brāhmana named Gopāla, who had just vanquished Karna and again placed Kirtivarman on the throne.³⁰ Karna is three times mentioned in the prologue.—

1. In a Sanskrit verse, the importance of which was first recognized and its bearing explained by General Cunningham.—³¹ 'He (*viz.*, Gopāla), having overcome the strong Karna, caused the rise of the illustrious king Kirtivarman, just as discrimination, having overcome strong delusion, gives rise to knowledge.'

2. A passage in Sanskrit prose³² says of Gopāla that he 'strove to re-establish the sway over the earth of the kings of the lunar race, which (*svay*) had been uprooted by the lord of Chedi, who was as terrible as the fire at the end of the world to the multitude of all princes.' Here the expression 'the lord of Chedi' refers to Karna and 'the kings of the lunar race' to the Chandellas.

3. A lengthy Prākṛit passage,³³ which need not be translated in full, says that Gopāla, 'having crushed the ocean-like army of Karna, obtained the splendour of victory in battle, just as Madhumathana (*Vishnu*), having churned the milk-ocean, obtained (*the goddess*) Lakshmi.'

It is a curious coincidence that, in the passage just quoted, the army of Karna is compared to the milk-ocean, just as in verse 26 of the subjoined inscription, and Gopāla to Madhumathana (*Vishnu*), just as there Kirtivarman is compared to Purushottama (*Vishnu*); and it appears very probable that the composer of the inscription knew the *Prabodhachandrodaya* and borrowed from it his description of Kirtivarman's victory over Karna. The reign of Kirtivarman and, together with it, the date of Krishnamisra, the author of the *Prabodhachandrodaya*, is limited by A. D. 1050³⁴ and A. D. 1116, the date of Jayavarman's inscription.³⁵

According to Bilhana's *Vikramāṅkadevacharita* (sarga i, verses 102 f.) Kirtivarman's contemporary Karna of Dāhala or Dāhāla (*i.e.*, Chedi) was defeated by the Western Chālukya king Āhavamalla II (about 1042 to about 1068 A. D.). In another part of his poem (sarga xviii, verse 93), Bilhana calls Karna, whose court he visited, 'the death to the lord of the Kālañjara mountain' (*Kālañjaragṛipati*), *i.e.*, to the Chandella king. This expression, if contrasted with the repeated statement that Kirtivarman and his general Gopāla completely defeated Karna, illustrates the necessity of hearing the other party before drawing historical conclusions from an Oriental record.

²⁹ According to Professor Kielhorn, Karna's Benares grant is probably dated in Chedi Samvat 793 or A. D. 1042, *Ind. Ant.* vol. XVII, p. 216

³⁰ Page 5 of the Calcutta edition — श्रीपाली भूमिपालान्तरसमस्तसिद्धतामावनिषेण जिला सामान्ये श्रीतिवर्मा नरपतिवत्तकी येन मृदोभ्यर्षि ॥

³¹ Cunningham's *Arch. Sur. India*, vol. II, p. 453, vol. IX, p. 108. Page 8 of the Calcutta edition — येन च विवेकेनेव निजित्य कर्षी मोहनिवर्जितम् । श्रीकौर्तिवर्मदपतेर्विषयेवोदय ज्ञत ॥

³² Page 7 of the Calcutta edition — सकलभूपाखकुलमलयकालाग्निरद्रेण वेदिपतिना समुन्मूलित चन्द्रान्वयपार्थिवानां प्रथिव्यानां विषये स्थिरीकृतुमयमस्य सरस ॥

³³ The Sanskrit translation of the end of this passage (p. 6 of the Calcutta edition) is as follows — येन कर्षसेनसागरं निर्मयं महानयनेनेव श्रीरससुहृदं समासादिता समरविजयलक्ष्मी ॥

³⁴ See note 20

³⁵ *Ante*, p. 139

If an inscription of *one* king asserts that he conquered another, it scarcely proves more than that the two were contemporaries.³⁵

The mutilated verses 27 and 28 seem to have continued the description of the reign of Kirtivarman. Verse 29 begins — 'His son, of wonderful, was' The remainder of the inscription is lost.

TEXT

- L 1. श्रीं श्रीं नमः शिवाय ॥ जयत्यान्नायनःकंपमहि[मा]³⁷
- 2 नाः सना शस्त्रत्वल्लवयन्तु मौलिशसिनः, त्रेयो मयूखाक्षराः ॥ [२*] एतस्य विश्व³⁸
- 3 प्रतिकल स्फारीभवन्नण्डलः । पीयूषैः प्रतिवर्द्धितैरहरहः स्वैर्विश्वमाय्याययन्³⁹
4. वतसो वशस्तस्मादजनि रजनीवस्रभाद्विश्वकान्तः ॥ [५*] ततः पप्रथिरे तीराः कलि-
व्याघ्रा⁴⁰
- 5 कुसुमान्याशास्त्रपर्वोत्सत्त्वीराभोधितरंगरंगणकलाः क्रोडन्ति यत्कीर्तयः ॥ [६*] आसीन्नारा-
यणस्तेषु [गु]⁴¹
- 6 स्य लोकः ॥ [८*] जेजास्त्रयाथ नृपतिः स बभूव जेजाभुक्तिः पृथोरिव यतः पृथिवीयमासीत् ।
वीजाद्वयस्तदनुज⁴²
7. भूव⁴³ ॥ [११*] हतरिपुकरिक्कुभसुक्तमुक्ताप्रकरमिवेण चकार लाजहृष्टिम् । असिबलभिगतैव
य विलोक्य स्फुटरणराज⁴⁴
- 8 बभूव निविडं व्योमांगणे संगलच्चङ्गुस्तुतुरङ्ग[पु]ङ्गवसुरक्षुण्णचमोत्थं रजः । क्लृप्तारथयो
यथासरलितग्रीवं सुखैर्नामितै[रु]⁴⁵
- 9 मलामृतानि वेलापयोनिधितटानि ससुल्लसन्ति ॥ [१५*] सान्द्रैः श्वेतातपत्रैर्विकसितकमला
सोमिमलालाश्वहन्दैरुभयज्जीमनक्रा ध्वजमकरमुखैर्विम्बितै[रु]⁴⁶
- 10 निर्मितवैरिभङ्गः श्रीधङ्ग इत्यवनिमङ्गलमाविरासीत् । सारिण यः स्वभुजयोर्भुवनातिभार हृदो-
रमप्यतिवल तुलयाचकार ॥ [१७*] सोयं देवसरित्पति⁴⁷
- 11 रुहद्दीपजयोद्यमः समभवद्दीडाविलक्षः क्षणम् ॥ [१८*] तस्मादभूजघृताखिलभूमिखण्डः
योगण्ड इत्यवनिमण्डनमेकवीरः । यच्चण्डकोपशिखि⁴⁸
- 12 क्षवैः⁴⁹ । तदनु तरलैर्लीलादष्टाधरा मधुपत्रजैर्विपिनतरुभिः खैर भुक्ता हृष्टा यदरिस्त्रियः ॥
[२०*] तस्मादसौ रिपुयशकुसुमाहरोभूद्विद्याधरो नृपतिरप्र[ति]⁵⁰

³⁵ Thus the Western Chalukya Pulikeśin II and the Pallava Narasimhavarman I —the Western Chalukya Vikramāditya I and the Pallava Paramēśvaravarman I —the Western Chalukya Jayasimha III and the Chola king Rajendra-Chola—claim to have conquered each other, see my first volume of *South Indian Inscriptions*, p. 145, note 2

³⁷ Here 21 syllables of verse 1 and 54 of verse 2 are lost.

³⁸ Here the remainder of verse 3 and 27 syllables of verse 4 are lost

³⁹ Here 18 syllables of verse 4 and 48 of verse 5 are lost

⁴⁰ Here 20 syllables of verse 6 and 47 of verse 7 are lost

⁴¹ Here 23 syllables of verse 8 and the commencement of verse 9 are lost

⁴² Here 20 syllables of verse 10 and the commencement of verse 11 are lost

⁴³ Read बभूव

⁴⁴ Here 7 syllables of verse 12, the whole of verse 13, and 6 syllables of verse 14 are lost

⁴⁵ Here 18 syllables of verse 14 and 37 of verse 15 are lost

⁴⁶ Here 46 syllables of verse 16 and 7 of verse 17 are lost.

⁴⁷ Here 49 syllables of verse 18 are lost

⁴⁸ Here 21 syllables of verse 19 and 32 of verse 20 are lost

⁴⁹ Read पद्मवै.

⁵⁰ Here 32 syllables of verse 21 and 18 of verse 22 are lost

- L 13 विहितकन्याकुलभूपालभङ्गम् । समरगुरुमुपास्त प्रौढभीस्तन्पभाजं सहकलचुरिचंद्रः शिष्यवद्वो-
जदेवः ॥ [२२*] अभवदम्बुधिरुद्धककुलयो विजयपाल इ[ति]⁵¹
14. वहमग्रे भीममुखेचमाणः । अवहृत जितविश्वः सोपि हृत्पुण्डरीकं मुकुनितरणगर्व्यन्य गात्रेय-
देवः ॥ [२४*] तच्चाहभूव भरतस्य गुणैः समग्रैः श्रीकीर्त्तिवर्गैः]⁵²
15. यस्तानेकक्षमाभृतमुच्चकैर्वल्लहरिभिर्लक्ष्मीकणै मङ्गाण्यमुद्धतम् । अचलमहसा दोह्येन
प्रमथ्य यशःसुधां य इह करिभिर्लक्ष्मी लेभेपरः पुरुषो[त्त][मः ॥ २६*]⁵³
16. लितमण्डलायकिरणैरायोधनेषु द्विपञ्चक्राणामयमन्य एव विदधे दिव्याङ्गनामंगमः ॥ [२७*]
सग्रामेषु निशातखड्गलतिकासाहायकेनामुना ते पृथ्वीपतये[र]⁵⁴
17. गाङ्गाकयोः⁵⁵ ॥ [२८*] आसीत्तदीयतनयोद्धत⁵⁶

XXVIII.—THE UDEPUR PRASASTI OF THE KINGS OF MALVA

By G. BÜHLER, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E

When last year the preparation of my notes on the historical portion of Padma-
gupta's *Navasāhasānkhacharita*¹ (discovered by Professor Zachariae) turned my attention
to the history of Mālva, I came across some remarks by Dr F. E. Hall² on a "much
mutilated" incited inscription which he had seen at Udepur (Gwalior). Though
some of Dr. Hall's statements regarding its contents rather puzzled me, they yet showed
very clearly that the document must give a fuller pedigree of the Paramāras of Mālva
than any other known inscription, and that it must besides contain interesting historical
information. Convinced of its value, I asked the Editor kindly to secure a copy for
me. He directed Dr. Fuhrer, who was in the Jhānsi District, to obtain it, and the latter
sent me, in May last, two excellent impressions, one on thick and one on thin paper.
It is on these materials that the subjoined edition is based.

The inscription is a fragment, incised on a stone slab about 28 inches by 27, which
at present is lying in the court-yard of the great temple of Śiva at Udepur. It
contains 24 lines of deeply and well-cut rather ornamental Nāgarī characters, which
closely resemble those found in the other Paramāra inscriptions of the eleventh century
A.D. To judge from the appearance of the impression, the slab seems to be entire, and
the remaining portion of the inscription probably was engraved on a second slab, which
perhaps may still be found among the numerous inscribed stones in and about the
temple.³ The portion now published is on the whole in a fair state of preservation.
For, though a good many letters, especially in lines 3, 4, 6, 8, 20, 21, 23 and 24, have
suffered severely from rough treatment, it is in the majority of cases possible to recognise
their outlines, when one has restored the text conjecturally and knows what they ought
to be. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the

⁵¹ Here 20 syllables of verse 23 and 10 of verse 24 are lost

⁵² Here 37 syllables of verse 25 and 6 of verse 26 are lost

⁵³ Here 11 syllables of verse 27 are lost.

⁵⁴ Here 47 syllables of verse 28 are lost

⁵⁵ Read युगादाकयोः

⁵⁶ Here 46 syllables of verse 29 as well as the remainder
of the inscription are lost

¹ G. Bühler and Th. Zachariae, *Ueber das Navasāhasānkhacharita*, *Sitzungsberichte der phil hist Classe der Wiener Akademie*, Bd CXVI, S 583 ff

² *Jour As Soc Beng* vol XXVI, p 114, note.

³ Cunningham, *Arch Surv Rep* vol VII, pp 82-83

short invocation in line 1, throughout metrical. It shows a few grammatical mistakes such as *khadgam ūrdhvikṛitam yena* (line 16) instead of *khadga ūrdhvikṛito yena* and frequent faulty substitutions of *sa* for *śa*. Once in *vīrastāngo* (line 28) *śa* has been put for *sa*. *Va* throughout does duty for *ba*, as is the case in most medieval inscriptions from Mālvā and Gujarāt. A mistake in versification occurs in line 1, where the word *ālavāle* has been treated like a compound and *āla* belongs to the first Pāda of the verse, while the second begins with *vāle*. No really good poet makes the pause fall in the middle of a simple word. There are also other passages which indicate that the author was not a poet of the first rank, but, as the Hindus would say, a *madhyama kavī*.

The state of the inscription makes it impossible to arrive at full certainty regarding its object. But it certainly contains a *Prasasti*. As *Prasastis* mostly record the erection or restoration of temples, and as the opening verses are addressed to Śiva, Pārvatī and Gaṇeśa, it may be conjectured that it originally belonged to a Śaiva temple, which was built either by Udayāditya, the last prince named in the fragment, or by one of his immediate successors.

However that may be, the value of the *Prasasti* remains very great, as it is the only document which gives an apparently complete enumeration of the earlier Paramāra rulers of Mālvā. Hitherto three imperfect lists were known, which occur in the *Navasahasānkacharita* of Padmagupta,⁴ in the *Nāgpur Prasasti*,⁵ and in the land-grants of Vākpati and Bhoja.⁶ A comparison of their contents with those of the document under consideration yields the following results —

I Udepur <i>Prasasti</i> Paramāra.	II. <i>Navasahasānkacharita</i> Paramāra	III Nāgpur <i>Prasasti</i> Paramāra	IV Land-grants
Upendra.	Upendra		Kṛishna.
Vairisimha I			
Siyaka I			
Vākpati I	Vākpati I		
Vairisimha II—Vajraṭa	Vairisimha	Vairisimha	Vairisimha
Harsha	Siyaka—Harsha×Vadaja.	Siyaka	Siyaka.
Vākpati II	Vākpati II—Utpalarāja	Muhja	Vākpati, or Amoghavaraha, or Prithivīvallabha, or Śrīvallabha, A D 974-975, and 979.
Sindhurāja	Sindhuraja, or Navasahasānka, or Kumārānā rājana.	Sindhurāja ⁷	Sindhurāja
Bhoja		Bhoja	Bhoja
Udayāditya.		Udayāditya	A D 1021-22

⁴ *Ueber das Navasahasānkacharita*, p 35 (613)

⁵ *Jour Bo Br Roy As Soc* vol. I, p 259, *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. VII, pp 44 ff

⁶ *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, p 48, and vol XIV, pp 159 ff

⁷ This name does not appear in either of the two published editions. I owe it to Mr J F Fleet, who possesses a paper impression of the inscription. Professor Kielhorn will give a new edition of the *Prasasti* in the *Indian Antiquary*

It appears that the Udepur *Prāśasti* alone presents an unbroken line of kings from Upendra to Udayāditya. Even the *Navasāhasāṅkaśharita*, which is more explicit than the other inscriptions, omits two names after Upendra. It moreover contains (XI, 80) the careless statement, that "other kings" reigned between Upendra and Vākpati I. The use of the plural naturally leads to the suggestion, that they were at least three in number. This seems now impossible, as, according to the Udepur *Prāśasti* (verses 8-10), the first four kings after Paramāra followed each other in the direct line of descent.

In considering the other not less interesting historical statements of the *Prāśasti*, it will be advisable to add to them the information contained in the *Navasāhasāṅkaśharita*, in the Jaina *Prabandhas* and in the other accessible inscriptions.

The legend regarding the origin of the Paramāras given here, is the same as that which the *Navasāhasāṅkaśharita* and the Nāgpur *Prāśasti* tell.⁸ When in ancient times the great Brāhman Vasishṭha was living on Mount Ābū, Viśvāmitra forcibly abducted his famous cow. Vasishṭha then created out of the firepit a hero who slew the enemies and brought the animal back. In reward of this deed the sage gave to him the name Paramāra, the slayer of the foes, and promised to him that he should become a king. The myth, which figures also in the stories of the bards, probably has arisen on Mount Ābū, where Paramāra princes for a long time held the fort of Achalgadh while their capital was at Ohandrāvati, a few miles south-east of the mountain. Someśvara's *Prāśasti* in Tejahpāla's temple⁹ at Dailvādā enumerates an older line of Paramāra princes, Dhūmarāja, Dnandhuka, and Dhruvabhata, regarding whom nothing is known, as well as a later series of kings, Rāmadeva, Yaśodhavalā, Dhārāvarsha, Prahlādana, Somusimha, and Krishnarāja, who belonged to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A. D., and were vassals of the Chaulukyas of Anhilvād. As the Paramāras of Mālvā apparently believed in the origin of their *heros eponymos* from the firepit at Ābū, it seems probable that they came from the north-west and formed a branch of the rulers of Achalgadh.

Regarding Upendra, the first historical king of the family, it is said (verse 8) that he gained 'the high honour of kingship' or 'the honour of exalted kingship' by his bravery. It may, therefore, be inferred that the author of the *Prāśasti* considered him to be the conqueror of Mālvā and the founder of its Paramāra dynasty. Padmagupta (*N. Char.* XI, 76-79) is not explicit on this point. He merely names Upendra as the first king. But he agrees with the Udepur *Prāśasti* in praising him for the performance of numerous Vedic sacrifices, on the occasion of which he is said 'to have adorned the earth with golden sacrificial posts.' Moreover, in the ambiguous verse (XI, 77),¹⁰—"Whose fame, that was ever moving on and the cause of Sitā's song, crossed the ocean just as Hanumat, who was ever nimbly moving and whose motive (*for jumping across the ocean*) was to console Sitā"—he seems to indicate that a poetess Sitā, whom the *Prabandhas*¹¹ place in Bhoja's reign, composed a *Prāśasti* or a *Charita* in his honour.

⁸ A great portion of the following remarks is a revised reproduction of Part VI of the German paper *Ueber das Navasāhasāṅkaśharita*.

⁹ *Kīrtikaurudī*, App. A, pp. 46, and 14-15.

¹⁰ सदागतिप्रदं तेन सीतां कृतं हनुमतेन यत्प्रसादं यत्प्रसादं सागरः । [In the case of Hanumat, *saddagatipravṛtta* also means 'the son of the wind'—E. H.]

¹¹ *E.g.*, *Prabandha Cintāmani*, p. 108 f. (Bombay edition)

This king, no doubt, as Dr. F. E. Hall and Sir A. Cunningham have long since assumed, is identical with the Krishnarāja of the land-grants. The two names are synonyms, and, if the new list is complete, there is no room for a Krishnarāja besides an Upendra.¹² The fact that in the land-grants Vairisimha is said 'to meditate on Krishna's feet,' need not cause any difficulty. The phrase does not necessarily indicate that the two kings immediately followed each other. For, though usually it refers to an immediate predecessor, there yet are cases where it is used with reference to a remoter king. Thus some of the Chaulukya land-grants (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, pp. 184, 194) assert that Durlabha meditated on the feet of Chāmunda, though Vallabha was his immediate predecessor. The time when Krishna-Upendra ruled, may be ascertained approximately by counting backwards from Vākpati II., who, as will be shown below, died between A. D. 994 and 997, after reigning for about twenty years. About 150 years are required for six generations, and the acquisition of Mālva by these Paramāras may thus be placed shortly after 800 A. D.

The descriptions of the next kings, Vairisimha I., Siyaka I., and Vākpati I., are purely conventional. Not a single historical fact is recorded regarding them either in the Udepur *Prasasti* or in any other document, except that they followed each other in the direct line of succession. Their reigns probably filled the period from about 840 to 920 A. D. With respect to Vākpati's successor Vairisimha II., the case does not stand much better. But we learn at least through the Udepur *Prasasti* that "the people called him by another name, Vajratasvāmin." This fact may prove to be of importance hereafter.

The next king is called Śrī-Harshadeva in the Udepur *Prasasti*, Śrī-Harshadeva or Siyaka in the *Navasāhasānkhacharita*, simply Siyaka in the other epigraphic documents, and Simhabhata in Merutunga's *Prabandhachintāmani*.¹³ The complete name probably was Harshasimha (*Harahsingh*), both parts of which were used as abbreviations instead of the whole. The form Siyaka is a half Prākṛtic corruption of Simhaka. For in modern Gujarātī and other dialects the termination *simha* becomes in names not only *singh* or *sangh*, but very commonly *sī*, which is immediately derived from the Prākṛit *sīha*. Thus we find *Padamsī* instead of *Padmasimha*, *Narsī* for *Narasimha*, *Arsī* for *Arisimha*, *Amarsī* for *Amarasimha*. According to the *Navasāhasānkhacharita* (XI, 89—90) Siyaka conquered the lord of Radūpātī and a king of the Hūnas. Who these persons were and where their territories lay, cannot as yet be ascertained. With respect to the Hūnas or Hūnas, it may be noted that those mentioned here and in other mediæval inscriptions are not Huns, but a Kshatriya race.¹⁴ For the bards and the Jaina *Prabandhas* regularly enumerate the Hūnas among the thirty-six *Kshatriyakula*, and their matrimonial alliance in the eleventh century with the Kalachuris precludes the possibility of their having been then considered foreigners. It is, however, a different question whence they originally came. Among the Rājputs there are certainly elements of un-Aryan origin. The new information, furnished by verse 12 of the Udepur *Prasasti*, according to which Siyaka II.—Harsha, "equalling the snake-eater (*Garuda*) in fierceness, took in battle the wealth of king

¹² The latter probably was the poetical form of the name, सिद्धदत्त, which Pandit Rāmchandra considers the correct and Krishna or its Prākṛit equivalent was that used in every-day life. one, is of course to be rejected

¹⁴ This has been first pointed out by Dr F. E. Hall, *Jour Soc. Beng.* vol XXXI, p 117, note 11

Khottiga," possesses greater interest. This Khottiga is no doubt the homonymous Rāshtrakūta king of Mānyakheta, whose *Śāsana*, published by Mr. Fleet,¹⁵ was issued on the occasion of a solar eclipse on Sunday, the new-moon day of the month Āśvayuja of Śaka Samvat 898, or Sunday, October 22, 971 A. D., when an annular eclipse of the sun took place. Khottiga died before September 25, 972 A. D., on which day the Kardā plates of his nephew Karkarāja are dated.¹⁶ The latest inscription of his predecessor Krishnarāja was issued in Śaka Samvat 878 or A. D. 956-57.¹⁷ As the first land-grant of Vākpati II is dated in Vikrama Samvat 1081 or A. D. 974-75,¹⁸ there can be no doubt that his father Siyaka II. and Khottiga were contemporaries. There is further clear proof that about this time the Paramāras of Mālvā were at feud with the Rāshtrakūtas. For Dhanapāla says in his *Pāyalachchhī* (verse 276) that he composed his work "when one thousand years of the Vikrama era and twenty-nine besides had passed, when Mannakheda or Mānyakheta had been plundered in consequence of an attack (*made*) by the lord of Mālava." As this date, A. D. 972-73, is very close to that of the first grant of Vākpati II, I have formerly (*Pāyalachchhī*, p. 7) conjectured that it was the latter prince who plundered the capital of the Rāshtrakūtas, and that his opponent was Karkarāja, the donor of the Kardā *Śāsana*. With the new information furnished by the Udepur *Prasasti*, this becomes doubtful, and it must be conceded that Dhanapāla may allude to Siyaka's expedition against Khottiga. According to the *Navasāhasānīkacharita* the name of Siyaka's consort, i.e., of his first queen, was Vadajā.

Siyaka's son Vākpati II. bore also the secondary names Utpalarāja, Muñja, Amoghavarsha, Prithivīvallabha, and Śrīvallabha. The three last occur only in his land-grants, while the first is found in the *Navasāhasānīkacharita* (XI, 92) and in some other literary works. The identity of Vākpati and Muñja, which was first recognised by Dr. F. E. Hall, is proved, not only by the Nāgpur *Prasasti* where Muñja appears instead of Vākpati, but still more clearly by two quotations in Dhanika's commentary on the *Daśarūpa*. There the same verse is attributed on p. 184 of Hall's edition in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, to "the illustrious king Vākpatirāja," and on p. 186, to "the illustrious Muñja."

The *Prasasti* (verses 13—15) praises Vākpati for his learning, eloquence and poetical gifts as well as for numerous victories. On the first point his poet-laureate Padmagupta is likewise most emphatic. He says (*Nav. Char.* I, 6):—

"We worship his majesty king Vākpati, the only root of (*that*) creeper of paradise, Sarasvatī,—him through whose favour we, too, walk on the path trodden by princes among poets,"¹⁹ and again (*Nav. Char.* XI, 98):—

¹⁵ *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, page 255. The date is perfectly certain, because the week day is also given. The 22nd October of 971 A. D. corresponds according to Oppolzer, *Canon der Finsternisse*, p. 208, to the day 2076010 of the Julian period, and hence is a Sunday. The middle of the eclipse happened at 3 hours 45 minutes, Greenwich time, or about 9 A. M., Laksh time. According to the map No. 104 in the same work, the beginning of this eclipse was visible in Central India.

¹⁶ The Kardā grant was issued on Wednesday, Āśvayuja, full moon day, Śaka Samvat 894 (*Indian Antiquary*, loc. cit., p. 263), when an eclipse of the moon took place. The eclipse is, therefore, that which occurred on September 25, 972, the day 2076349 of the Julian period, and consequently a Wednesday. It happened at 14 hours 51 minutes, Greenwich time, or about 8 P. M., Laksh time, and hence was visible in India.

¹⁷ *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 256, and Bhāndārkar, *Early History of the Dekhan*, p. 54. With the latter I agree in considering Krishnarāja to be Khottiga's elder brother.

¹⁸ *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, p. 51.

¹⁹ *Ueber das Navasāhasānīkacharita*, p. 5 (585).

"After Vikramāditya departed, after Sātavāhana went, divine Sarasvatī found rest with this friend of poets."²⁰

There is also evidence that this praise was not undeserved. Altogether irrespective of the somewhat suspicious verses attributed to Muñja-Vākpati in the *Prabandha-chintāmanī*, in the *Bhojaprabandha*, and similar works, the anthologies and works on *Alaṃkāra* quote occasionally compositions of Vākpati-rāja the son of Harshadeva, of Muñja or of Utpalarāja, which show that he possessed some talent. He also was a liberal patron of poets, on which point Padmagupta lays particular stress in the verses quoted above. And it agrees with his statement that Dhanamjaya, the author of the *Daśarūpa*, boasts of having belonged to the court of Muñja,²¹ as well as that his brother Dhanika, who wrote the *Daśarūpāvaloka*, calls himself the *mahāsādhya-pāla* of the illustrious great king Utpalarāja.²² Both names refer, as is now plain, to Vākpati. Further, Halāyudha, the commentator of Pingala's work on metrics, praises Vākpati-rāja as "the tree of paradise that grants the wishes of all applicants," and Dhanika, who quotes it, makes the note that Muñja is the king referred to.²³ Halāyudha was, therefore, too, one of the protégés of Vākpati II. It is finally not improbable that Dhanapāla, the author of the *Pāyalachchhī*, likewise enjoyed his favour, though the later *Prabandhas* make him one of the court-poets of Bhoja.²⁴ The latter statement must be erroneous, as I have shown in the introduction to my edition of the *Pāyalachchhī*, p 10.

As regards Vākpati's military exploits, the Udepur *Prasasti* asserts (verse 14) that he subdued the Karnātas, Lātas, Keralas, and Cholas, as well as (verse 15) that he vanquished Yuvarāja, slew his generals and raised his sword on high in Tripurī. The last-mentioned foe is, as Dr F E Hall and Sir A. Cunningham have stated,²⁵ the Chedi king Yuvarāja II, who ruled during the last quarter of the tenth century A D. Vākpati's success cannot of course have had any lasting effects, as the Haihayas of Chedi continued to flourish for at least two centuries longer. With respect to the victories reported in verse 14, little can be said. Padmagupta does not give any information regarding the wars of his first master, probably because the tragical end of the latter was fresh in men's memory and he thought it improper to praise for his warlike exploits one who had been taken captive and executed by his foe. Further, as has been shown above, Dhanapāla's remark about the plundering of Mānyakheta cannot be referred any longer with full confidence to an expedition of Vākpati. It is only Merutunga who supports a portion of the statements in verse 14. He says²⁶ that Muñja had conquered the Chālukya Tailapa II sixteen times, before he undertook his last expedition, in which he lost his throne and his life, and that he hence despised him. This statement would agree with the assertion of the *Prasasti* that Vākpati had subdued the Karnātas, and it is not incredible that he really may have gained some successes over the

²⁰ *Ueber das Navasahasānka-charita*, pp 27, 33 (607, 613)

²¹ *Daśarūpa*, last verse, p 226 (Hall)

²² *Daśarūpa*, p 3, note, and H H Wilson, *Hindu Theatre*, vol I, p 20 (ed. Rost). Dr Hall has left out this note in his edition, though he found it in one of his MSS. It is no doubt genuine, because a later Pandit would not have been able to put in the little-known *Bṛada* of Vākpati Muñja.

²³ Peterson, Vallabhadeva's *Sūbhāṣitāvalī*, p 115

²⁴ *Prabandha-chintāmanī*, pp 90 ff (Bombay edition)

²⁵ *Jour. Am. Or. Soc.* vol VI, pp 516, 517, and Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Rep.* vol IX, p 105

²⁶ *Prabandha-chintāmanī*, p 58 (Bombay edition)

southern kingdom. The alleged submission of the Keralas and Cholas, on the other hand, is extremely doubtful. It is difficult to understand how he could have come into contact with the latter two, whose countries lay at such a great distance from Mālvā. As regards the Lātas or the inhabitants of Central Gujarāt, a raid on and a success over them is not at all improbable. Northern Gujarāt had been conquered somewhat earlier by Mālarāja²⁷ and Central Gujarāt had come into the possession of his opponent Bārapa.²⁸ The time was certainly not a quiet one, and it may have been that the king of Mālvā then attacked his western neighbours, as happened so frequently during the next following centuries.

As might be expected, the *Prakāśti* is silent about Vākpati's end, just as Padmagupta says nothing about it. According to the account of the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* (*loc cit.*), the king undertook his last expedition into Tailapa's country against the advice of his minister Rudrāditya. He was defeated, after crossing the Godāvati, which formed the northern boundary of Tailapa's kingdom, and was taken captive. After a protracted captivity he made a futile attempt to escape, in consequence of which he was first treated with great indignity and finally executed.²⁹ The story is embellished with numerous touching incidents and with many verses which the captive king is said to have composed. Though all these details are probably worthless, it is certainly true that Muñja-Vākpati was destroyed by Tailapa; for two Chālukya inscriptions boast of this feat.³⁰ It is likewise true that Rudrāditya was Vākpati's minister, as he is mentioned in the *Śāsana* of A. D. 970. The date of his death probably falls between A. D. 994 and 997. For in the colophon of Amitagati's *Subhāshitaratnasamdoha*, it is stated that the work was composed during the reign of Muñja in Vikrama Samvat 1050 or A. D. 993-94,³¹ and Tailapa II. himself died in Śaka Samvat 919 or A. D. 997-98. The beginning of Vākpati's reign is probably not far distant from A. D. 974, the date of his first land-grant.

Vākpati II. was succeeded by his younger brother Sindhurāja, who, according to the *Navasāhasānkhacharita*, had the Birudas Navasāhasānka and Kumāranārāyana. The half Prākritic familiar form of his name, used in the *Prabandhas*, is Sindhula or Simdhala. The Udepur *Prakāśti* allots only verse 16 to him, and reports of him the single feat that he conquered a king of the Hūnas. The *Navasāhasānkhacharita* (X, 14-20) mentions the same victory, and in addition others over the prince of the Kosalas as well as the inhabitants of Vāgada and Lāta and the Muralas.³² Successful expeditions against the three first-named countries are not incredible. For there was a southern Kosala kingdom, which included portions of the Central Provinces and Berar and therefore lay not far distant from Mālvā.³³ Further, there is a district still called Vāgad, which lies close to the north-western frontier of Mālvā. It corresponds with

²⁷ K. Forbes, *Eds Mālvā*, pp. 37 ff. (2nd edition), and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, p. 181.

²⁸ K. Forbes, *loc cit.*, pp. 38, 46, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, pp. 196 ff.

²⁹ Nos 296 and 297 of the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* (*Ind. Off. Libr. Sans. MSS.* Bühler) say that he was hung on the branch of a tree. The Bombay edition omits the passage.

³⁰ J. F. Fleet, *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 40.

³¹ This approximate date has been found by Dr. Bhāndārkar, *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS.*, 1882-83, p. 45. He, however, differs a little, because he places the beginning of the Vikrama era in B. C. 56. The land grants show, however, that the Vikrama years began in Mālvā with Chaitra Sudi 1. Hence it seems advisable to refer Amitagati's date to A. D. 993 instead of to A. D. 994-95.

³² *Ueber das Navasāhasānkhacharita*, p. 19 (599) and p. 46 (626).

³³ Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, pp. 519 ff.

the modern Dungarpur in Rājputānā,³⁴ which even in recent times has been tributary to the Marāṭha ruler of Dhār. It is not at all unlikely that Sindhurāja made attacks on these two neighbouring districts as well as, imitating his father, on Lāṭa, just beyond his south-western frontier. But a war with the Muralas, who are the same as the Keralas in Southern India, is not probable, except by assuming that the term has been used inaccurately, with that poetical license of which the Sanskrit writers frequently avail themselves, for the inhabitants of the Dravidian districts in general. If that may be done, the passage probably refers to a continuation of the feud between the kings of Mālvā and the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi during the reign of Sindhurāja. It also continued, as we shall see, during the next reign.

A great deal more is told about Sindhurāja in the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, which describes the manner in which he gained the Nāga princess Śaśiprabhā, after destroying the Asura Vajrāṅkuśa who resided in Ratnavatī "fifty *gavyūtis* from the Narmadā," and after obtaining his golden lotus.³⁵ The whole story, as it stands, is purely mythological. But it has no doubt a historical basis, and Padmagupta has intentionally, possibly for poetical reasons, distorted the facts. One of the points which I consider as certain, is that the Nāga princess, whom the king is said to have gained and wedded, belonged to the race of the Nāga Kshatriyas, of whose former existence in Rājputānā and Central India we have documentary evidence.³⁶ The Asura Vajrāṅkuśa, whose golden lotus was the bride-price paid by Sindhurāja, is very likely some historical person in disguise, because otherwise the situation of his capital would not be specified in so matter-of-fact a manner. But it is for the present impossible to guess who may be meant, or who the Vidyādhara were with whom the king was allied. Another certain historical fact, to be learned from the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, is that Sindhurāja's chief minister was called Yaśobhata and bore the Biruda Ramāṅgada.³⁷

The poem furnishes also some indications as to Sindhurāja's relation to his brother Vākpati and permits us to make a guess as to the duration of his reign. According to the *Prabandhas*, Sindhurāja was a very unruly character, and was treated by his brother with great severity. Merutunga asserts³⁸ that owing to his misdeeds he was first banished and went to Gujarāt, where he settled in the neighbourhood of the town of Kāsahrada, or, according to Mr. K. Forbes,³⁹ Kāsindra-Pālaḍi near Ahmadābād. Later he returned to Mālvā and was at first received well by Muñja-Vākpati. But, when he again behaved ill, he was deprived of his eyesight and confined in a wooden cage. During his captivity his son Bhoja was born. When Bhoja grew up, Muñja was warned against him by a prophecy and ordered his execution. Just before the order was carried out, Bhoja sent a verse to his uncle, which produced a change in the latter's disposition. The order was not only revoked, but Bhoja was made Yuvarāja or

³⁴ See the map prefixed to the account of Mahikānthā in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol V, page 355. According to the *Rājputānā Gazetteer*, vol. I, page 276, the language of Dungarpur is called *Bāgar*. This word, too, is probably derived from the old name of the country. When I wrote my German article on the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, I was not aware of the existence of this *Vāgaḍa* and identified the country, named by Padmagupta, with eastern Kachh, which is also called *Vāgaḍ*. The greater distance of the latter district from Mālvā makes the identification now improbable.

³⁵ See Zacharias's analysis of the poem in the article quoted, pp 14 (594)-23 (603), and especially pp 18 and 22.

³⁶ See *Indian Antiquary*, vol XIV, p 75, and Sir A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, vol II p 310.

³⁷ *Ueber das Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, p 15 (595).

³⁸ *Prabandhakintāmani*, pp 56ff (Bombay).

³⁹ *Eds. Māld*, p 64.

heir-apparent. He mounted the throne after Muñja had been killed by Tailapa. Against this the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* (XI, 08) says that "Vākpati placed the earth in Sindhurāja's arms, when he started for Ambikā's town" Strictly interpreted, this sentence would mean that he made his brother Yuvrāja on his death-bed and solemnly appointed him his successor. Considering what we know of Vākpati's manner of death, this view is not admissible. But the passage may indicate that Sindhurāja had become Yuvrāja some time before Vākpati's fatal expedition. At all events it does not give one the idea that enmity reigned between the two brothers. And there is a further fact which favours the same conclusion. For Padmagupta, who had been first Vākpati's poet-laureate, later held the same position in Sindhurāja's court. He himself says (*Nav. Char.* I, 7). —⁴⁰

"When his majesty Vākpati was about to ascend to heaven, he placed a seal on my song; Sindhurāja, the younger brother of that brother of poets, now breaks it"

Had the brothers been deadly enemies, Padmagupta would certainly have been left in obscurity after his first patron's death.

As regards the second point, the duration of Sindhurāja's reign, his various military undertakings, which the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* reports, certainly prove that he must have reigned for at least seven or eight years before the poem was written. As Vākpati II. died between A. D. 994 and 997, it is not possible to assume that Padmagupta composed it earlier than about the middle of the first decade of the eleventh century. How much longer Sindhurāja may have reigned, cannot be determined at present

The statements of the Udepur *Prācāsti* regarding Sindhurāja's son Bhoja are most extravagant. Verse 17 asserts that he ruled the earth from Kailāsa in the Himālayas to Malayagiri in Malabār and from the mountain where the sun rises to that where it sets, and thus gives a most ridiculous account of the extent of his dominions, which in reality never much exceeded the limits of modern Mālva. Verse 18 names as the kings and nations vanquished by him the lord of Chedi, Indraratha, Toggala (?), Bhīma, the king of the Gūrjaras, the lord of Lāta, the Karmātas, and the Turushkas. Verse 18 alludes to his extensive knowledge and bestows on him the title *Kavirāja*, king of poets. Verse 20 informs us that he built numerous temples dedicated to various forms of Śiva and to Vishnu-Rāmeśvara. Verse 21 finally admits that he succumbed to foreign foes, and that at his death his capital Dhārā was in their possession.

As regards Bhoja's wars, the first was probably one with the Karmātas, i.e., the Chālukya king of Kalyāṇi. For, in an inscription "of the reign of Jayasimha III, dated Śaka Samvat 941 or A. D. 1019-20, it is said that this king was "a moon to the lotus which was king Bhoja," i.e., that he took away Bhoja's glory just as the moon causes the day-lotuses to close their flowers; and again that he "searched out and beset and pursued and ground down and put to flight the confederacy of Malava." These statements indicate that the king of Mālva was the aggressor, and that his attack was carefully planned. The southern inscription, of course, represents the Chālukya as successful, and the numerous documents from Jayasimha's reign certainly prove that he

⁴⁰ Ueber das Nav Char p. 6 (586), दिवं विद्यासुर्जेन वाचि सुदानदत्त या वाक्पतिराजद्विः । तस्यानुगमा कविवाच्यस्य भिननि यो संमति विभुराजः ॥

⁴¹ *Indian Antiquary*, vol. V, p. 17, compare also Dr Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dehkan*, p. 60.

cannot have suffered any serious reverse. But it is quite possible that Bhoja gained in the course of his expedition to the south some advantage which might be magnified by the Málvā court-poets into a great victory over the Karnāṭas.

This war must have taken place between Śaka Samvat 933 or A.D. 1011-12, the latest known date of Jayasimha's predecessor, and that of the inscription. Besides this encounter of Bhoja with the Chālukyas, we hear of a second through Bilhana, who tells us in the *Vikramānkaḍacharita* (I, 91-94) that Jayasimha's successor, Someśvara II., who ruled from about A. D. 1042-3 to 1068-69, took Dhārā by storm and forced Bhoja to flee. The event is not mentioned in the southern inscriptions, but Bilhana celebrates it as the greatest deed of the father of his hero.

Bhoja's victory over the Chaulukya Bhīma I. (A. D. 1021-22 to 1063-64) is acknowledged by one of the later *Prabandhakāras* of Gujarāt. Merutunga narrates⁴² that, while Bhīma was engaged in the conquest of Sindh, Bhoja sent a certain Digambara Kulachandra with an army against Anhilvād. The town was taken. The conqueror sowed cowries at the gate of the palace and returned to Málvā, taking with him a *jaya-patra* or letter of victory. Hemachandra's silence regarding this defeat of Bhīma does not mean much. For, being a court-poet, he could not speak of reverses which his master's grandfather had suffered. It may be nevertheless a fact, and that particular one to which the *Prabasti* alludes. Merutunga has several other anecdotes regarding the relations subsisting between Bhoja and Bhīma. There is, however, only one among them, and that referring to Bhoja's end, which deserves any notice. It will be discussed below. Regarding Bhoja's wars with the kings of Chedi and Lāṭa and the Turushkas, nothing more can be said than that they are not improbable. For the first was also, as we have seen, the foe of Vākpati II. and appears as the chief actor in the story of Bhoja's end, while the second was the object of the attacks both of Siyaka II. and of Vākpati II. The Turushkas are, as always in the inscriptions of this period, the Muhammadans. The expeditions of Mahmud of Ghazni against Somnāth and later against Gwalior may very probably have forced Bhoja to fight against him. But it is very unlikely that the armies of Málvā should have gained a victory over him. I am unable to say who Indraratha and Toggala, the other two foes mentioned, can have been.

The praise of Bhoja's learning and proficiency in poetry in verse 18 is well deserved. The modern researches in the Indian libraries have brought to light a considerable number of hand-books of, or commentaries on, various Hindu *Śāstras*, which all bear the name of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Bhoja and are alleged to have been written by him, no doubt with the help of his Pandits. Besides the well-known *Sarasvatīkanthābharana* on poetics and the equally famous *Rājamārtanḍa* on the *Yogaśāstra*, the Bombay collections contain two works on *Jyotiṣha*, the *Rājamārtanḍa* and the *Rājamṛigāṅka-karana*,⁴³ and the *Samarāṅgana* on architecture.⁴⁴ In Tanjore there is the *Vidvaj-janavallabha* on *Jyotiṣha*. The list in the *Prabhāvakaḍcharita*⁴⁵ (written about A. D. 1250) shows that still a good many more works of the same description have to be recovered. A poetical composition by Bhoja, the *Śṛṅgāramañjarīkathā*, is partly

⁴² *Prabandhakāntāmaṇi*, p. 80.

⁴³ Nos. 342 and 343 of the Collection of 1879-80, and No. 108 of 1873-74.

⁴⁴ No. 356 of the Collection of 1880-81.

⁴⁵ *Ueber das Leben des Jaina Mönches Hemachandra*, p. 63 (251).

preserved in a fragment which I found in 1874 in the *Bṛhajjñānakosha* at Jaisalmer.⁴⁶ A colophon on fol. 149b runs as follows: इति सहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरयोभोजदेवविरचितायां ऋगारमंजरीकथायां यद्भाराककथानिका द्वादशी समाप्ता ॥ The work is partly in prose and partly in verse.

Regarding the extensive building operations which Bhoja undertook according to verse 20, I am not able to bring forward any corroboration from other sources. But it is very probable that a prince, so fond of display as he was, adorned his capital and perhaps even foreign sacred places with architectural monuments.

The hints regarding Bhoja's end in verse 20 of the *Udepur Prabasti* agree very closely with those given in the *Nāgpur Prabasti*, and are perfectly reconcilable with Merutunga's story⁴⁷ according to which he succumbed to a combined attack of Karna of Chedi and of Bhīma I. of Gujarāt, or died, just when this attack took place. Both these kings, no doubt, were his contemporaries⁴⁸ and his neighbours in the east and in the west. Nevertheless an implicit acceptance of the story has its difficulties. For the Chedi inscriptions do not even hint that Karna worked the destruction of the most famous monarch of the eleventh century. Nor does Hemachandra, who wrote his *Dvayātraya Kāvya* about 150 years before Merutunga's times, say that Bhīma I. had a share in Bhoja's reverses, though otherwise he is anxious to place Bhīma's military exploits in the best possible light. It seems strange that the Chedian court-poets and older Gujarātī writers should both have forgotten to notice an event which must have reflected so much glory on the ancestors of their patrons. Owing to these considerations I cannot at present give as unqualified an assent to Merutunga's story as I have done on a former occasion.⁴⁹ Neither the date of Bhoja's accession to the throne, nor that of his defeat and death, can, I fear, be accurately ascertained. All that can be said regarding the former event is that it must have happened between the date of the composition of Padmagupta's *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* about A. D. 1005, and that of Bhoja's war with Jayasimha III. of Kalyāṇī, which latter occurred, as has been shown, between A. D. 1011-12 and 1018-19. It seems probable, however, that it lay closer to the lower than to the remoter of these two limits. For Padmagupta does not mention Bhoja in his poem. This is a certain sign that Bhoja was not grown up at the time when he wrote. For, if that had been the case, Padmagupta would have felt it his duty to put in a compliment for the heir-apparent, as the court-poets invariably do in similar cases. Bhoja may then have been a boy of ten or twelve or even fourteen years, but he cannot have reached as yet the Indian age of majority, his sixteenth year. If I am right in placing the composition of the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* about the year 1005 A. D., the time when Bhoja can have assumed the reins of government must fall about A. D. 1010, or even somewhat later. Further, certain dates during his reign are furnished by his land-grant of Vikrama Samvat 1078 or A. D. 1021-22, by the statement of Berūnī, that Bhojadeva ruled over Dhārā and Mālvā when he wrote his *Indica*,⁵⁰ in A. D. 1030, and by the date in the *Rājamarigāṇakalāraṇa*, Śaka Samvat

⁴⁶ I ordered a copy to be made, which, however, has never been sent.

⁴⁷ *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, pp. 117 ff., K. Forbes, *Rds. Indā*, p. 68 f.

⁴⁸ Sir A. Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Rep.* vol. IX, p. 107.

⁴⁹ *Vikramādityadevacharita*, p. 23.

⁵⁰ See Professor Sachau's Translation of Al-Berūnī's *Indica*, vol. I, p. 191.

961⁷¹ or A. D. 1042-43. For the question when Bhoja died, the most important passage is that in Bilhana's *Vikramānkaḍevacharita*, where he says (XVIII, 96).—

"Assuming the voice of the pigeons that nested on the lofty turrets of her gates, Dhārā cried as it were to him (Bilhana) in pitiful tones. 'Bhoja (*is my*) king He, indeed, is none of the vulgar princes Woe is to me! Why didst thou not come into his presence?'"

I still believe that the verse means that Bilhana might have, but did not visit Bhoja for reasons not stated, and that Bhoja was alive when he reached Central India on his travels. If that is so, the death of Bhoja must fall some time after the year A. D. 1062, the earliest in which the departure of Bilhana from Kāśmīr can be placed.⁷² And it agrees with this assumption that Kalhana declares, *Rājataranginī*, VII, 259 (Calcutta edition) —

स च भोजनरेन्द्रस्य दानोत्कर्षेण विद्युती ।
सूरी तस्मिन्वपि तुल्य द्वावास्ता कविदाम्बवी ॥

"He (*Kshiti-pati*) and king Bhoja, famous for their great liberality (*and*) sages, were at that moment both equally the friends of poets."

The expression "at that moment" refers to the time after the coronation of Kalaśa in A. D. 1062, which is mentioned in verse 233. In estimating the value of Kalhana's assertion, it must be borne in mind that he wrote nearly one hundred years after the time of Bilhana's travels and after Bhoja. He is, of course, not a contemporary witness. But as his statement agrees with Bilhana's, it must be allowed some weight. I do not think that the date Vikrama Samvat 1116 and Śaka Samvat 981, assigned to Bhoja's successor Udayāditya in an inscription in the great temple at Udepur, proves anything against this. As Dr F. E. Hall has stated,⁷³ the document is a horribly incorrect scrawl, which, according to lines 13-14, was written by order of one Śāgaravarman in Vikrama Samvat 1562, Śaka Samvat 1417 (*read* 1427) or Kali Yuga 4607,⁷⁴ and it is absolutely worthless for historical purposes.

Regarding Udayāditya our *Prasasti* states merely that he was a Paramāra and Bhoja's successor, and that he freed his country from the enemies who had conquered it. It also implies that he restored a temple or statue of Vishnu in the boar incarnation. Whether he was related to his predecessor or not, does not appear.

TRANSCRIPT.

L 1 श्री नमः शिवाय ॥

गगादुसमितभुजगमालयाले कलेन्दोरमलाङ्गराभा ।

यन्मूर्द्धि नमोऽहितकल्पवपरा भातीव भूत्यै स तवास्तु शंभुः ॥ [१॥]⁷⁵

2. सानन्दनदिकरमुदरसांद्रनादीनादेन तुवुरमनोरमगानमानैः ।

[नृत्य]त्यवस्यमनि[श] सुरवासवेस्या यस्याग्रतो भ-

⁷¹ According to my copy of the Jesalmīr MS it is शास्त्री वेदतुंगन्दी - . This is the initial point for the calculations in the *Karara*

⁷² See *Vikramānkaḍevacharita*, p. 23. According to the *Rājataranginī*, VII, 936, Bilhana left Kāśmīr "during the reign of Kalaśa"

⁷³ *Jour. Am. Or. Soc.* vol VII, p. 35

⁷⁴ I have before me two impressions prepared by Dr. Führer. From these the accompanying plate has been photographed, the title of the plate should be corrected into—'Udepur Prasasti of the reign of Udayāditya.'

⁷⁵ Metre, Indravajā In Pāda 3 रे is blurred and व abnormal. The reading is therefore not certain

- L. 3. यत्तु वः स सिवः शिवाय ॥ [२॥]^{५८}
 मूर्धस्थिता[भ्रसरितोच्च]मयेव संभोरर्द्धागमंगघटनाइनमाययंती ।
 दृष्टात्मनाथवसतां
4. सकलांगतुष्टा पुष्टिं नगिद्रतनया भवतां विदध्यात् ॥ [३॥]^{५९}
 गणेशो [व]: सु[खाया]स्तु निशातः परगुः करे ।
 यस्य नम्रघनावद्य-
5. कंदोच्छिष्ट्या इयोद्यतः ॥ [४] ॥^{६०}
 अस्त्युर्वीध्रः प्रतीच्यां हिमगिरितनयः सिद्धदंपत्यसिद्धेः
 स्थानं च ज्ञानभाजामभिमत-
6. फलदो ऽखर्वितः सो ऽर्बुदायः ।
 विश्वामित्रो वसिष्ठादहरत व[ल]तो यत्र गां तप्यभावा-
 क्क्षणे वीरोनिंकुडाद्रिपुवलनिधनं य-
7. यकारैक एव ॥ [५॥]^{६१}
 मारयित्वा परान्धेनुमानिन्ये स ततो सुनिः ।
 उवाच परमारा — — धिर्वेन्द्रो भविष्यसि ॥ [६॥]^{६२}
 तदन्ववाये ऽखिलयज्ञसंघतृ-
8. सामरोदाहृतकोर्त्तिरासीत् ।
 उपेन्द्रराजो द्विजवर्गरत्नं सौर्यार्जितोत्तुंगनृपत्व[मा]नः ॥ [७॥]^{६३}
 तत्पुत्ररासीदरिराजकुंभिकंठीरवो
9. वीर्यवतां वरिष्ठः ।
 श्रीवैरसिंहयतुरर्षवान्तधात्रमां जयस्तंभक्ततप्रशस्तिः ॥ [८॥]^{६४}
 तस्मादभूव वसुधाधिपमौलिमासारत्नप्रभाश्चिररं-
10. जितपादपीठः ।
 श्रीसीयकः करकपाणजलोर्ध्वमन्मसपुत्रजो विजयिना धुरि भूमिपालः ॥ [९॥]^{६५}
 तस्मादवन्तितरुणीनय-
11. नारविन्दभास्वानभूत्करकपाणमरीचिदीपः ।
 श्रीवाक्पतिः सतमखानुकृतिस्तुरंगा गंगासमुद्रसलिलानि पिबन्ति यस्य ॥ [१०॥]

^{५८} Metre, Vasantatilakā. Read "यवग्रन्", वेष्मा, शिवः. The first consonant of वृषति is destroyed and the second looks like) द, अग्निरं is not certain

^{५९} Metre, Vasantatilakā. Read मंभीर, मयतां.

^{६०} Metre Anushtubh. The bracketed letters are almost completely gone. After this verse follows a ruda symbolical figure and then another two vertical strokes, indicating that the Mahāgala is finished

^{६१} Metre, Bragdhārā. The shape of the second sign is a little abnormal. The left half of the bracketed letter is gone. Read "दोपयसिद्धेः"

^{६२} Metre, Anushtubh. Restore परमारायः पार्यवेन्द्रो.

^{६३} Metre, Upajātī. Read "यौ". The last syllables look like—नेः.

^{६४} Metre, Indravajrā. Read वैरसिंह

^{६५} Metre, Vasantatilakā. Read "सपुत्रजो"

^{६६} Metre, Vasantatilakā. Read "सतमखानुकृतिः".

- L. 12. जातस्तस्माद्द्विरसिंहोन्मनाम्ना लोको ब्रूते [वज्रट]स्वामिन य ।
शत्रोर्वर्गं धारयासेर्निहत्य श्रीमद्वारा सूचिता येन राज्ञा ॥ [११॥]⁶⁵
तस्मा-
13. दभूदरिनरेखरसंघसेवागर्ज्जज्जिद्रवसुंदरतूर्यनाद ।
श्रीहर्षदेव इति खोद्विगदेवलक्ष्मीं जग्राह यो युधि नगादसमप्र-
14. तापः ॥ [१२॥]⁶⁶
पुत्रस्तस्य वि[भू]पिवाखिलधराभोगो गुणैकास्पदं
सौर्याक्रान्तसमस्तसद्विभवाधिव्याधवित्तोदयः ।
वक्रत्वो -
15. चक्रवित्ततर्ककलनप्रज्ञातशा[स्त्रा]गमः
श्रीमहाकपतिराजदेव इति यः सद्भिः सदा कीर्त्यते ॥ [१३॥]⁶⁷
कर्षाटलाटकेरल -
16. चीलशिरीरत्नरागिपदकमलः ।
यद्य प्रणयिगणार्थितदाता कल्पद्रुमप्रख्यः ॥ [१४॥]⁶⁸
युवराज विजित्याजौ हत्वा तद्वा-
17. हिनीपतीन् ।
खड्गमूर्धोक्त येन त्रिपुर्यां विजिगीषुणा ॥ [१५॥]⁶⁹
तस्यानुजो निर्जितह्वराजः श्रीसिधुराजो विजयार्ज्जि-
18. तथ्योः ।
श्रीभोजराजोजनि येन रत्नं नरोत्तमाकम्पकद्वितीयं ॥ [१६॥]⁷⁰
आ कैलासान्मलयगिरितोऽस्तोदयाद्रिद्वयादा
भुक्ता पृथ्वी पृथु-
19. नरपतेस्तुत्यरूपेण येन ।
उन्मूल्योर्वीभरगुरु[ग]णा लीलया चापयज्या
क्षिप्ता दिक्षु क्षितिरपि परा प्रीतिमापादिता च ॥ [१७॥]⁷¹
साधित विहितं दत्त
20. ज्ञातं तथ्यन्न केनचित् ।
किमन्यत्कविराजस्य श्रीभोजस्य प्रशस्यते ॥ [१८॥]⁷²
चेदीश्वरेन्द्ररथ[तोम]ल[भीमसु]ख्यान्कर्षाटलाटपतिगूर्जराट्तरु-
21. प्लान् ।
यद्वृत्त्यमात्रविजितानवलोक्य मीला दोषां वलानि कलयन्ति न [योवृ]ली[कान्] ॥ [१९॥]⁷³
केदाररामेखरसोमनाथ[सु]डीरकालानलरुद्र-

⁶⁵ Metro, Śālinī. The bracketed letters are badly damaged.

⁶⁶ Metro, Vasantatilakā. Read 'नरेन्द्र'; सेना

⁶⁷ Metro, Śardūlavikrānta. Read 'विमृषिता', the मू is not recognisable, read श्रीयां, शत्रुविमषाधिव्याधवित्तोदयः

⁶⁸ Metro, Āryā.

⁶⁹ Metro, Anuṣṭubh. Read 'खड्गमूर्धोक्त'.

⁷⁰ Metro, Upajāti.

⁷¹ Metro, Mandākrāntā. The first syllable of गणा is very doubtful, read चापयज्या

⁷² Metro, Anuṣṭubh.

⁷³ Metro, Vasantatilakā. The bracketed letters are all more or less doubtful, 'तोम' may have been 'भीम' or 'सीम'.

L. 22

सलैः [1]

सुराश्रयैर्ध्याय्य च यः समन्ताद्यथार्थसंज्ञां जगतीं चकार ॥ [२०॥]⁷
तत्रादित्यप्रतापे गतवति सदनं स्वर्गिणां भर्गभक्ते
व्यासा धारैव धात्री रिपुति-

23.

मिरभरैर्गौललीकस्तदाभूत् ।

विश्रस्तांगो निहत्विङ्गटरिपुति [मिरभ] रं खड्गदंडां मुजालै-
रन्यो भास्वानिवीद्यन्तुतिमुदितजनात्कीद-

24.

यादित्यदेवः ॥ [२१॥]⁷⁶

येन धरणीवराहः परमारणी [वृत्तो] निरायासा [त्] ।
[तस्यैतस्या भू] मेरुक्षारो वत कियन्मात्रः ॥ [२२॥]⁷⁶
[कुंवान्य —] तवाजिन्नजक्⁷⁷

TRANSLATION.

Om, adoration to Śiva !

(Verse 1) May that Śambhu tend to thy welfare, on whose head the pure crescent of the moon looks like a sprout of the creeper of paradise that is desired by the worshippers, (*standing*) in a basin of snakes sprinkled by the water of Gaṅgā !⁷⁴

(2.) May that Śiva conduce to your happiness, before whom the harlots of the abode of the gods⁷⁵ needs ever dance to the sound of the loud, beautiful time beating of joyful Nandin's hands and to the tunes of Tumburu's soul-enchanting songs !

(3.) May the daughter of the mountain (*Pārvatī*) grant you prosperity,—she who, out of jealousy, as it were, of the aerial river (*Gaṅgā*) that rests on Śambhu's head, firmly clings to one half of his body, joining hers (*to his*), and who feels pleasure in every limb when she sees the subjection of her lord !⁸⁰

(4) May Gaṇeśa grant you happiness, in whose hand a sharp axe is raised in order to cut off, as it were, the root of the great sinfulness of his worshippers !

(5.) There is in the west a son of the Himālaya, that lofty mountain, called Arbuda (*Ābū*), that gives the desired reward to those possessing (*true*) knowledge, and (*is*) the place where the conjugal union of the Siddhas is perfect.⁸¹ There Viśvāmitra forcibly took from Vasiṣṭha (*his*) cow. Through his (*Vasiṣṭha's*) power a hero arose from the firepit, who singly worked the destruction of the enemy's army.

(6) When he had slain the enemies, he brought back the cow ; then that sage spoke : "Thou wilt become a lord of [*kings, called*] Paramāra."

⁷⁴ Metre, Upajāti. Read राक्षसः. The first syllable of राक्षसः is doubtful, समन्ताद्य° looks like समन्ताद्य°

⁷⁵ Metre, Bragdhārā. Read विश्वतो°, •दंडाय°, in the eighth syllable of the last Pāda only the न is quite certain

⁷⁶ Metre, Āryā. The bracketed letters are partly very difficult to recognise.

⁷⁷ The bracketed letters are doubtful

⁷⁸ Śeṣha being coiled round Śiva's neck, forms an *ālavāla* or basin which retains the water of Gaṅgā when it flows from the head of the deity. The crescent of the moon on Śiva's head elsewhere is compared with the *bijānlura*, the seed sprout, of the world, see, e.g., Bhoja's land grant, *Indian Antiquary*, vol VI, p. 53, verse 1. Strictly *gaṅgāmbuvijādi* qualifies *mārdhina*

⁷⁹ I.e., the Apsaras

⁸⁰ "When she sees the subjection of her lord," i.e., when she sees that, being united with her, he cannot escape and flirt with Gaṅgā.

⁸¹ The verse alludes to the existence of Śaiva *maṅḍas*, or monasteries

(7.) In his line there was Upendrarāja, whose fame was proclaimed by the immortals, satisfied by the multitude of all sacrifices,—who was a jewel among the twice-born and gained high honour of kingdom⁸² by his valour.

(8) His son was a lion for the elephant-like hostile kings, the best of heroes, the illustrious Vairisimha, who composed his own eulogy by (*erecting*) pillars of victory (*everywhere*) on the earth that is bounded by the four oceans

(9) From him sprang the illustrious Siyaka, a prince (*standing*) in the first rank of conquerors, whose footstool was resplendent and coloured⁸³ by the rays of the jewels in the diadems of kings,—(*he*) the crowd of whose enemies was submerged in the waves of the water of the blade in his hand.⁸⁴

(10) From him sprang the illustrious Vākpati, a sun for (*those*) water-lilies, the eyes of the maidens of Avanti, (*he who was*) resplendent with the rays of the sword in his hand, who resembled Śatamakha (*Indra*), and whose armies drank the waters of Gangā and of the ocean.⁸⁵

(11) From him was born Vairisimha, whom the people call by another name, the lord Vajrata; by that king famous Dhārā was indicated, when he slew the crowd of his enemies with the sharp edge (*dhārā*) of his sword.⁸⁶

(12.) From him sprang he who is called his glorious majesty Harsha, the sound of whose trumpets was beautiful like the noise of the roaring of mighty elephants in the armies of numerous hostile kings, he who, equalling the snake-eater (*Garuḍa*) in fierceness, took in battle the wealth of king Khottiga.⁸⁷

(13.) His son who, (*being*) the sole abode of good qualities, adorned the whole globe of the earth, the growth of whose riches was proportionate to the deposits of wealth (*which he received*) from all foes that were conquered by his bravery,⁸⁸ who, cultivating eloquence, high poetry and the art of reasoning, completely mastered the lore of the *Śāstras*, was he who is ever praised by the virtuous as his glorious majesty Vākpati,

(14.) He whose lotus-feet were coloured by the jewels on the heads of the Karnāṭas, Lātas, Keralas and Oholas, and who possessed the fame of a tree of paradise, since he granted to a crowd of supplicants whatever they desired;

(15) Who, conquering Yuvarāja and slaying his generals, as victor, raised on high his sword in Tripurī.

(16) His younger brother was the illustrious Sindhurāja, who conquered the king of the Hūnas and who gained glory by his victories. He begat the illustrious Bhojarāja, a jewel without a rival, (*a hero*) who caused the best men to tremble.

(17.) He, who resembled king Pṛithu, possessed the earth up to Kailāsa, up to the

⁸² Or "the honour of exalted kingdom"

⁸³ "Coloured" because the diadems of the prostrate kings contained rubies and other coloured stones

⁸⁴ For the last phrase compare verse 7 of the *Prasasti* of Hemachandra's grammar, *Ueber das Leben des Jaina Mönches Hemachandra*, p 66 (234)

⁸⁵ "A sun for (*those*) water-lilies, the eyes of the maidens of Avanti," i.e., who made the young women open their eyes wide with joy and surprise at his beauty, just as the sun causes the day lotuses to open their flowers—"Whose armies drank the water of the Gangā and of the ocean," i.e., who made victorious expeditions as far as the Arabian Sea in the west and as far as the Ganges in the east. No historical inference can be drawn from such a vague statement

⁸⁶ "By that king famous Dhārā was indicated," i.e., smiting the foe with the *edge* (*dhārā*) of his sword the king indicated that Dhārā belonged to him

⁸⁷ The snake-eater Garuḍa was the cognisance of the Paramāras, see the facsimiles of Vākpati's and Bhoja's land-grants, *Indian Antiquary*, vol VI, loc cit Naga is given in the *Koshas* as a synonym of *nāga*

⁸⁸ The translation follows the emended reading which I have proposed in the notes to the text.

Malaya hills, and up to the two mountains of the setting and the rising sun; he scattered in (*all*) directions the weighty crowd of earth-supporters,⁵⁰ easily uprooting them with the shaft of his bow, and gave highest joy to the earth.

(V. 18.) He accomplished, ordered, gave and know what (*was*) not (*in the power*) of anybody else; what other praise can be given to illustrious Bhoja, the poet-king?

(19.) Seeing the Karnátas, the lord of Lāta, the king of Gárjara, the Turushkas, chief among whom⁵¹ were the lord of Chedi, Indraratha, Toggala(?) and Bhīma, conquered by his mercenaries alone, his hereditary warriors⁵² thought only of the strength of their arms, not of the numbers of the fighters.

(20.) He made the world (*jagatī*) worthy of its name⁵³ by covering it all around with temples, dedicated to Kedāreśvara, Rāmeśvara, Somanātha, Sumdīra(?), Kāla, Anala, and Rudra.

(21.) When that devotee of Bharga (*Śiva*) whose brilliancy resembled that of the sun, had gone to the mansion of the gods, the earth, like Dhārā, was filled with dense darkness, his foes, (*and*) his hereditary warriors became infirm in body. Then arose⁵⁴ king Udayāditya, another sun, as it were, destroying the dense darkness, the exalted foes, with the rays issuing from his strong sword, (*and thus*) gladdening the hearts of his people by his splendour.

(22.) Lo! how easy was the rescue of this earth for that Paramāra, by whom the primeval boar was restored without a difficulty.⁵⁵

(23.)

XXIX.—THE NEW INSCRIPTION OF TORAMANA SHAHA.

By G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The present edition of the inscription of Toramāna Shāha, or Shāhi, Jāṭva has been prepared according to two paper impressions furnished to me by Dr. Burgess. The inscription, which was found at Kura in the Salt Range and is now in the Lahore Museum, is incised on a sandstone slab, measuring 2' 4" by 1' 8", the lower part of which, about six inches in height, has been left blank. The inscription consisted of thirteen lines of unequal length, the first three of which have been seriously injured at both ends, while the right-hand portion of the twelfth and the thirteenth seem to have been obliterated by the writer of the original and to have been partly re-written. A good many strokes are visible on the injured portions. But I do not dare to propose any restoration.

The characters resemble those found in the older Buddhist nail-headed inscriptions

⁵⁰ "The weighty crowd of earth-supporters," i.e., numerous powerful kings. The words seem to have been chosen in order to play on the word *uroṣbhara*, which can mean both 'a prince' and 'a mountain,' and in order to indicate that Bhoja resembled king Prithu who pushed the mountains asunder with his bow.

⁵¹ If my restoration *mulhyān*, 'chief among whom,' is correct, as I think it must be, the author has made a 'hull' which strongly reminds one of the late Sir Cowasji Jahangir's complaint in the Bombay papers that the unfinished Victoria Museum was inhabited "by owls, bats and other vultures." For the Chediśvara did certainly not belong to any one of the nations named in the second compound *karnāṣṭyādī*.

⁵² Regarding the technical meaning of *maula* and *bhṛīṣya* see Kāmandaki, *Nīti Śāra*, XVIII, 4.

⁵³ *Jagatī* means both 'the world' and 'a site for buildings.'

⁵⁴ In the text there is no finite verb, and the author probably wishes *āsīt* to be understood.

⁵⁵ "By whom the primeval boar was restored," i.e., who restored a temple or statue of Vishṇu in the boar incarnation. As the king could do that, the feat of the boar, the *bhūmer uddhāraḥ*, the uplifting of the earth out of the waters, was of course a small matter for him.

of the Gupta period, but show certain peculiarities. Very characteristic are the curves attached to the left-hand limbs of *ga* and *śa*, the peculiar angular form of the *sa*, the horizontal stroke of which has been attached to the left-hand limb and forms with it a triangle open at the top just as in the modern handwriting of Rājputānā. The roundness of *va* is likewise remarkable. The language is the mixed dialect, incorrect Sanskrit strongly modified through the influence of the vernacular Prākṛit, which once used to be called the Gāthā dialect on account of its occurrence in the metrical portions of the sacred writings of the Northern Buddhists. In my opinion it has been produced by the efforts of half-educated people to write the sacred language of the Brāhmanas. The earliest specimens usually show the greatest number of abnormal forms. Those occurring in this inscription have been discussed in detail in the notes to the translation.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a Buddhist monastery by one Rota-Siddhavṛddhi, the son of Roṭṭa-Jayavṛddhi, for the teachers of the Mahīśāsaka school.

The donor states (l. 7) that his father was honoured by the lord of Naśchira, either a town or a district, and was the lord or manager of many Vihāras (see note 19 to the translation). The inscription was incised during the reign of the king of kings, the great king Toramāna Shāha, or Shāhi, Jaṭvā, to whom and to whose family the donor wishes to make over a share of the merit gained by his pious gift. The date is unfortunately not readable with the exception of the month and of the day, the second *tithi* of the bright half of Mārgaśīras. This circumstance makes it impossible to accurately fix the age of the inscription. On palæographical grounds it may be assigned to the fourth or the fifth century. I am not able to assert that the Toramāna of our inscription is identical either with the Toramāna of the Brāhmi inscription or with the Toramāna of Kāśmīr, who is mentioned by Kalhana and who has left behind so many coins inscribed with Gupta characters. The fact that this Toramāna bears the title or surname Shāha or Shāhi and receives the epithet Jaṭvā which may be a tribal name or a *Biruda*, is, it seems to me, sufficient to prevent the identification with the other Toramānas, who are not characterised in this manner. All I would say regarding him is that he ruled over north-western India, and that he was an independent king. The latter point is indicated by his title *rājā[dhī]rāja*, 'king of kings,' or, more accurately, 'superior king of kings.' It is also highly probable that he was not a native Indian. The name Toramāna is neither Sanskrit nor Prākṛit, but in all probability a foreign one. Professor J. Karabacek of Vienna informs me that it is Turkish, where *tōramān*, *tūramān* or *toremēn* means 'a rebel or insurgent', and he is inclined to connect Jaṭvā with *jol*, 'a falcon.' A Laga-Turman is mentioned by Alberūnī, vol. II, p. 13 (Sachau's translation), as the last king of the Thibetan (?) or Turk Shāhi dynasty of northern India, among whom was Kanik (Kanishka?).

TRANSCRIPT.

- L. 1. —[राजा]—राजमहाराजतोरमाणषा[हि]जज — —[भिवर्धमानराज्ये — — संवत्सरे]¹
 2. — — — — मे मार्गशिरमासशुद्धितीयायाम् चा[न्द्रमद्य] — — — — गग²

¹ The letters placed between brackets are very faint and partly doubtful. The first title seems to have been राजाधिराज. वाहि, originally suggested by Mr. Fleet, is plain on the second impression. Probably जजवृद्धमि has to be restored according to a suggestion of Mr. Fleet. I read originally जज — — — गग.

² The bracketed letters are very doubtful with the exception of the syllable न्द्र suggested by Mr. Fleet.

- L. 3. — — वर — शुचिमातध्यानाध्ययनमोक्षचित्तानुकूले प्रदिष्ट — — — — — [न]-
 4. क्षत्रे भगवतो बुद्धस्य देवातिदेवस्य सर्वपापपरिचीणसर्वपुण्यसमुद्गत[स्य]³
 5. तीर्थससारार्णवसत्वानां तारयिता दशबलवलिनचतुर्वैशारद्यचतस्रप्रतिसंविदा⁴
 6. अष्टादशवेणीकानुतर्धर्मसमन्वागतस्य सर्वसत्त्ववत्सलमहाकारुणिकस्य बु-⁵
 7. षमसुखचातुर्दिशे भिक्षुसंघे देयधर्मोय विहारप्रतिष्ठापन नक्षीरपतिप्रशस्ता-
 8. दारितनामधेयविशेषवृद्धिः रोटजयवृद्धि अनेकविहारस्वामिनो सत्पुत्रेण यदत्र पुण्यं तद्वतु
 9. [म]तापितो आपायकपोषकचित्रस्य जंबुद्वीपस्य दर्शयितारो अग्नेभावप्रत्ययतायास्तु तथा
 विहारस्वामिनो
 10. रोटसिद्धवृद्धि सर्वेषां भ्रातराणां भगिनीनां पत्नीनां पुत्राणां दुहितृणां महाराजतोरमाणपाहज-
 क्तुः स-
 11. वैषा देवीनां राजपुत्राणां राजदुहितानां च सर्वसत्वानां अनुत्तरज्ञानावाप्तये अय पुन विहारस्यो -⁶
 12. पकरण चातुर्दिशे भिक्षुसंघे परियष्टे आचार्यमहीश[सकानां] सादकपु] — — — त्रेण [आचा]
 13. — — — त — — — — —

TRANSLATION.

In the prosperous reign of the king of kings, the great king Toramāna Shāhi Jātū; in the..... th year, on the second (*lunar day*) of the bright half of the month of Mārgasīras. Under the Nakshatra, which is propitious for pure, tranquil meditation, study and reflection on salvation this appropriate and meritorious gift,³ the erection of a Vihāra for the congregation of the monks of divine Buddha, the god of gods,⁹ freed from all sin and endowed with all holiness,¹⁰ the saviour of beings that have crossed the ocean of births,¹¹ who possesses¹² the power of the ten powers,¹³ who

³ There is large blank space between ई and वातिदेवस्य

⁴ The second sign of चतुर्वैशारद्यः is injured, and the reading may be चतुर्वैशारद्यः. In that case it would be a mistake for चतुर्वैशारद्यः. The Anuvāsa of पविर्चविदा is doubtful and the last two letters are very faint. But the reading is nevertheless certain.

⁵ Some strokes are attached to the ई of वैषीका which may be meant as a correction, the usual form of the word being वैषिका.

⁶ Between च and हयस्माना there are two short strokes — —, as if something had been lost. But the word is complete.

⁷ There is a vertical stroke to the left of the ये of वाचाय which either may have been an *d* stroke or a continuation of the upright of च. The च of महोपासकानां is abnormal and looks like न. Nevertheless the reading seems certain. The bracketed letters of the latter word and those following seem to have been written under a line of intentionally obliterated characters. It also looks as if the characters of line 13 had been defaced intentionally.

⁸ In accordance with the usage of the mixed dialect, the Anuvāsa of *deyadharmas* and *vihārapratishṭhāpana* have been left out. With respect to the word *deyadharmas* I accept Mr Fleet's correction of the translation, *Corpus Inscr Ind* vol. III, p 25, note, and now translate more closely by 'appropriate and meritorious gift,' though it may be doubted whether it conveyed to the ordinary mind any other meaning than 'a gift which secures merit' *Vihārapratishṭhāpana*, 'the erection of a Vihāra,' is not an appropriate expression. It ought to have been simply 'a Vihāra'.

⁹ The epithet *devādeva*, 'the god of gods,' is regularly applied to Buddha, see, e.g., Minayeff, *Mahāvīyutpatti*, I, 15.

¹⁰ *Sarvopāpaparikkhina* and *sarvapūnyasamudgata* are compounds formed on the model of the classic *agnydāta* for *dāyāta*, etc.; see Pāṇini, II, 2, 37.

¹¹ In *īrṇasasādrnavasatvānān*, *sasāra* stands for *samudra*, see above, note 8. *Tārayitā* ought to be either *tārayitā* or *tārayitā* accordingly as it may be intended for a separate word or for a part of a compound. The latter is the more probable explanation. For the substitution of a nominative for the stem is common in the mixed dialect.

¹² I read originally *samavāgatasya*. *Samanvāgatasya* is Mr Fleet's suggestion.

¹³ *Databalabalina* is either a new *a* stem formed from *daṭabala* or a genitive with the omission of the *Viarga*, compare below *madāpitro* (L. 9). Regarding the ten powers of Buddha see *Dharmasamgraha* (*Anecdota Oxoniensia*, vol. I, part v), No. lxxvi, and Professor Max Müller's notes thereon.

INSCRIPTION OF TORAMĀNA SHĀHA.

[The page contains dense handwritten text in Devanagari script, which is mostly illegible due to extreme contrast and noise in the scan.]

has attained the four subjects of confidence,¹⁴ the four analytical sciences,¹⁵ the eighteen independent conditions,¹⁶ the supernatural condition,¹⁷ who cherishes all creatures and is most compassionate,—of which (*congregation*) Buddha is the chief and which comes from the four quarters of the world,—(*has been made*) by the virtuous son of Roṭṭa-Jayaṛiddhi,¹⁸ the lord of many Vihāras,¹⁹ whose name, praised and honoured by the lord of Nāśchira, (*indicates a*) particularly (*great*) prosperity.

Whatever merit (*there is*) in this (*act*), may it be for the attainment of supreme knowledge by (*my*) parents, the instructors²⁰ of Jambūdvīpa that is famous for nurses and nourishers,—(*their*) share being a preferential one,—²¹ moreover by all the brothers, sisters, wives, sons and daughters of the lord of the Vihāra Roṭṭa-Siddhaṛiddhi,²² by all the queens, princes and princesses²³ of the great king Toramāna Shāha Jaṭvīra²⁴ (*and*) by all creatures. But this benefaction²⁵ by a Vihāra (*is*) for the congregation of the monks of the four quarters, for the acceptance of the teachers, the Mahīśāsakas²⁶. By the son of Sāddhaka

¹⁴ If *chaṭvāraśraḍḡa* is the correct reading, the form *chaṭu* for *chaṭaḥ* or *chaṭa* is Prakṛitic. Regarding the four subjects of confidence, see *Dharmasargraha*, No. lxxvii. The translation is that of Childers' *Pali Dictionary*, sub voce *cessāyā*.

¹⁵ *Chātaraṇṇasārtiddhi* is a monstrous form for *chaṭvāṇṇasārtiddhi*, in which the mutilated infected form of the nominative has been preserved, compare above *tārayitā*. Regarding the four analytical sciences, see *Dharmasargraha*, No. li.

¹⁶ Regarding the eighteen independent conditions, see *Dharmasargraha*, No. lxxix.

¹⁷ I translate *adbhutatadharma* according to its etymological sense. The *Dharmasargraha*, No. lxxi, and other works know the word as the name of one of the nine kinds of scriptures. It cannot have that meaning in this passage.

¹⁸ I take *Roṭṭa*, which stands here before *Jayaṛiddhi* and appears below l. 10 in the form *Roṭa* before the name of the donor *Siddhaṛiddhi*, to be the name of a caste, clan, or family. The case termination of the preceding *ṛiṣeṣhaṛiddhi* is, of course, utterly wrong. It ought to be *ṛiddheḥ*, as the next following word shows. *Adārita* is the perfect past participle of the causative of *āḍṛi*.

¹⁹ The expression *anekavihārasāramṇa*, 'of the lord of many Vihāras,' indicates that Roṭṭa-Jayaṛiddhi superintended several monasteries. The explanation of *vihārasāramṇa* is given in Beal's *Life of Hīuen Tsiang*, vol. p. xxvi. See also Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III, pp. 263, 272, note 3.

²⁰ *Darlayitāro* evidently is to be taken with *śātāpitro* and, like the latter, a genitive of the dual. Its irregular formation from the strong stem has many analogies in the mixed dialect. The meaning of the phrase seems to be that, though India possesses many tender mothers and dutiful fathers, yet all can learn something from the donor's parents.

²¹ The translation of *agrebhārapratyaṃśatāyā* is by "(their) share being a preferential one" is only according to the general sense. Literally it means "but according to the condition of a preferential share." *Agrebhāra* stands for *agrebhāra*. Regarding *pratyaṃśa*, see the Index to the *Dīvyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell and Neill.

²² The uninflected base *Roṭasiddhaṛiddhi* has to be taken in the sense of a genitive as the preceding *vihārasāramṇa* indicates. The form *bhṛātārānāḥ* is derived from an *a*-stem *bhṛātara*, formed according to the analogy of numerous Prakṛit forms.

²³ The incorrect form *rājādūhātānāḥ*, derived from an *a*-stem *dūhātā*, is particularly interesting as the correct Sanskrit form *dūhātīnāḥ* occurs in the preceding line 10. It proves the utter loss of all feeling for the rules of the language.

²⁴ The nominative *Toramānashāhaṇḍa* has to be taken in the sense of a genitive governed by the following genitives.

²⁵ *Upakarana* stands for *upakaranam* and, though a neuter, is connected with the masculine of the pronoun *ayaṃ*. *Puna* is the ancient Prakṛit form for *punaḥ*.

²⁶ The fact that the Mahīśāsakas, one of the subdivisions studying the Hīnayāna, were settled in the Panjāb, is known from Hīuen-Tsiang's description of the country, see Beal, *Sikyū-ki*, vol. I, p. 121. The meaning of the last sentence seems to be that all Buddhist monks shall participate in the use of the Vihāra, but that it is specially made over to the Mahīśāsaka teachers. The Mahīśāsakas formed one of the five branches of the Sārvāstivāda or Vaibhāṣika school.

XXX.—AN UNDATED PRASASTI FROM THE REIGN OF MAHENDRAPALA OF KANAUJ.

By G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

A portion of the subjoined inscription was discovered many years ago by Mr. Bowring at Pehon, together with the grant of the horse-dealers, dated [Śrīharsha] Samvat 276, in the reign of king Bhoja (*ante*, p. 184), and was published, together with the latter, by Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XXII, pp. 675 ff. Of late the whole document has been recovered, and the circumstances leading to its recovery are as follows. Dr. Burgess found that the stone slab, on which it is incised, was fixed in the wall of a house, in the bazar, belonging to a Siddh,¹ close to the jamb of a door, and was used as a seat. As this jamb partly rested on the slab and covered a portion of the inscription, Dr. Burgess got Mr. Rodgers, the Archaeological Surveyor in the Panjāb, to try to prevail on the owner of the building to allow the slab to be removed. The latter, however, was unwilling to allow this, and Mr. Rodgers was then asked to undertake further negotiations and to get the countenance of Mr. Drummond, the Deputy Commissioner of Karnāl, in either purchasing the slab or in exchanging it for another that would do the same service to the owner. Through the kind offices of Mr. Drummond the stone was finally secured and sent to the Lahore Museum, where Mr. J. L. Kipling, C.I.E., took two excellent paper-impressions, which were forwarded to Dr. Burgess by Mr. Rodgers and made over to me for preparing a new edition of the inscription. The inscription is now complete, while in the copy used by Dr. Rājendralāl about one third of each line—its left-hand portion—was missing.

Judging from the impression, the slab on which the inscription is incised measures 36 inches by 24. The stone-mason has done his work with great care, for there are very few Indian epigraphical monuments which show an equal amount of neatness and artistic finish in their execution. Owing to the rough treatment which the stone has undergone, a certain number of letters have, however, been either obliterated or become indistinct. Lines 3—7 have lost from four to seven letters at the beginning; in lines 1—6 the letters 17—21 on the left-hand side have been partly rubbed out, and lines 20—21 have lost a piece out of the middle. Moreover, a number of single letters and small groups have been defaced in various places on the right-hand side of the inscription. It is, however, fortunately possible to restore most of the lost signs with some degree of certainty by conjecture.

The characters of the inscription are of the ordinary Nāgarī type, current in Northern and Western India during the ninth and tenth centuries; and they resemble most closely those of the horse-dealers' grant, mentioned above. The superscribed *mātrās* show, however, ornamental additions, similar to those used in the Jhālrapāṭan Prasasti (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. V, p. 180), and the same ornaments appear occasionally in the tails of some letters (see, *e.g.*, note 10 to the transcript). The language is very good Sanskrit and throughout metrical. As regards the orthography, the constant substitution of *va* for *ba* and the frequent use of the *Jihvāmālīya* and *Upadhmanīya* deserve to be noted, as well as some rather unusual sandhis,—*e.g.*, in *samanādyatu* for *samantāddyatu*, line 4, *saśśrīmān* for *sa śrīmān*, line 5, *nirmānādve* for *nirmāṇāddve*, line 12; *satphalānamramārtih*, line 15, and so forth.

¹ See Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, vol. II, p. 225, and vol. XIV, pp. 101, 102.

The object of the inscription is to record the building, it would seem, of a triple temple of Vishnu, and it contains a so-called *Prasasti* or eulogy, as is expressly stated in verse 26. It opens with a *mangala* of four verses, verses 1—2 being addressed to Vishnu, verse 3 to the Kurukshetra, and verse 4 to the sacred stream Sarasvatī, which flows near Prithūdaka—Pehoa. Verse 5 praises the ruling king of the country, Mahendrapāla.²

The next portion of the poem (verses 6—19) gives an account of certain members of the Tomara family (verse 6), the last three of which dedicated the temple mentioned in the inscription. The pedigree of the Tomaras enumerated is as follows —

Jāula (verses 6—8)

Vajrāṭa, married to Maṅgaladevi (verses 9—10)

Jajjula, married to Chandrā and to Nāyikā (verses 11—13)

Gogga
(verse 14)

Pārnarāja
(verses 15—16).

Devarāja
(verses 17—19).

Regarding Jāula it is said that he was a *rājā*, 'obtained prosperity by looking after the affairs of a king,' and built many temples. It appears, therefore, that he was in the civil employ of some king or other, and received, as was often the case with ministers and other high officials, the title of *rājā*. How many generations intervened between him and Vajrāṭa, the next person mentioned, cannot be made out. But the remark (verse 9) that the family was "the home of joyful, prospering intimates of kings," indicates that its members continued to hold high places in the service of their sovereigns. The same seems to have been the case with Vajrāṭa, who, it is alleged, "gained a lofty exaltation through most pure business transactions." Jāula's title was probably likewise inherited by his descendants, since Gogga is called *bhūnāthah*, 'protector of the earth,' which appellation may be considered as a poetical rendering of the more prosaic *rājā*. If the general description in verses 11—19 may be trusted, Jajjula and his three sons entered the military service of their sovereign. For nothing is said of their success in business, but their bravery and their victories over their enemies are highly extolled. Verse 20 states that the three brothers built 'here,' i.e., in Pehoa, temples of Vishnu, and verse 21 attributes '(that) in the middle' to Gogga, (that) at the back to Pārnarāja, and (that) in front to Devarāja. Nevertheless verse 22, which contains the usual wish for the long duration of the building, speaks only of one single temple (*idam dyatanam*). The only possible solution of this contradiction seems to be that the structure was a triple temple, containing three statues and three adyta, united under one roof. Temples of this description do occur elsewhere, and we still have a very fine specimen in the famous Vastupālavihāra on Mount Gīrnār.³

The next verse (23) gives the name of the architect, Achyuta, son of Rāma, who was a native of Kāmboja, or a Kābulī. Verse 24 enumerates the names of three villages, Yakshapālaka, Gejjara, and Pātala, which were assigned for the *bhoga* of the deity,

² Compare the position of the eulogy of king Jayachandra in the Baynāth Prasasti, No II, ante, p 112, which likewise follows immediately after the *mangala*.

³ See Burgess's *Archaeological Surv. Rep. Western India*, vol II, pp 169 ff and Fergusson's *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p 232, where the building is called the temple of Vastupāla and Tejapāla. [Other examples occur in the Dekhan, as, for example, the temple of Mānakeśvara at Lakkundi:—J B]

i.e., for the service of the temple; and verse 25 exhorts future princes to respect this donation. In verse 26 the poet gave his own name which, unfortunately, has not been fully preserved. It began with *mu* and contained three syllables.⁴ The poet's father was Bhaṭṭa Rāma. The name of the mason (verse 27) who incised the inscription—*Ālāditya*—is likewise mutilated; that of his father *Durlabhāditya* has been preserved.

Though the inscription is not dated, its age can yet be fixed within very narrow limits. For the paramount sovereign *Mahendrapāla*, whom it mentions, belonged without doubt to the dynasty of Kanauj, and was the successor of the *Bhoja* who, according to the *Pehoa* grant of the horse-dealers, ruled in A.D. 882. Professor Kielhorn's article on the *Siyadonī* inscription, *ante*, p. 171, establishes the following series of sovereigns who ruled at Kanauj during the second half of the ninth century and the first half of the tenth.

1. *Bhoja*, A. D. 862, 876, and 882.
2. *Mahendrapāla* or *Mahindrapāla*,⁵ A. D. 903 and 907.
3. His son *Kaṣṭipāla* or *Mahipāla*, A. D. 917.
4. His son *Devapāla*, A. D. 948.

The identity of our *Mahendrapāla* with the second sovereign of this list is proved (1) by the fact that the inscription belongs to *Pehoa*, which, as the grant of the horse-dealers shows, formed part of the kingdom of Kanauj, and (2) by the close resemblance of the letters of our inscription to those of the grant just mentioned, which makes it impossible to assume that they are separated by a long interval. If this identification is admitted, our *Prasasti* must have been incised between A. D. 882 and A. D. 917.

With respect to the four *Tomaras*, mentioned in our inscription, I may add that they possibly may have been in the employ of the kings of Kanauj. But, as no direct statement to that effect occurs, it is impossible to be positive. For *Prithūdaka*—*Pehoa* was a place of so great sanctity, that even pious men from distant countries may have built temples there; and if strangers did so, their inscriptions, as a matter of course, would mention the ruling king of the country. Equally uncertain remains the relation of these *Tomaras* to the *Tomara* dynasties which reigned at Delhi and in Central India. But the early occurrence of the name of this race in Northern India still possesses some interest, and may hereafter, when more documents bearing on the history of the *Tomaras* are found, become of importance. Though the positive historical results, obtained from this *Prasasti*, are not very important, its complete publication has nevertheless some value, as it shows how entirely unfounded were the curious deductions made from the earlier imperfect edition. Its contents are now perfectly reconcilable with the information furnished by the other contemporaneous documents.

TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. श्री नमो माधवाय [॥]

यावे यामवतीपती शि[खरि]यु चामे]यु सर्वात्मना
ध्वस्ते ध्वान्तरिपौ जने विघटिते सस्ते च तारागणे ।
भट्टे भूवलये गतेषु च तथा रत्नाकरवेक्ता-
मेको यस्त्वपिति प्र-

⁴ It may have been *Muktaka*, *Muñjaka*, or *Muñjaka*. For the metre requires —○—

⁵ This form of the name is due to the influence of the vernacular *Mahindpāl*.

इतिगण

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L. 2.

धानपुरुषः पायात्त वः शार्ङ्गभृत् ॥ [१ ॥]^६
दृष्टिः [पायात्तिजग]दखिलं शार्ङ्गिणं × कान्तमूर्ते ×
कान्ता सदम्बूस्फुरितसुभगस्निग्धताराभिरामा ।
उद्यत्तीव्रस्फुरजलनिधौ मञ्जतश्च श्रीसुखेन्दु-
स्फारज्योत्स्ना[भव]-

3

ॐ ॐ [रुचः] स्मैरगण्डस्थलस्य ॥ [२ ॥]^७
चेवं कुरो[र्विविधपापम]लाभिघात-
दघं क्रियादुदयमस्तसमस्ततापम् ।
अव्यासित मुनिगणैरुदितात्मबोध-
प्रहस्तगाढतिमिरप्रकटप्रमोदैः ॥ [३ ॥]^८
पोत-

4.

— — ॐ — धी सुरपथगमने स्थन्दनच्छाधु[वर्ग]-
— — — — तावक्के × प्रलयजलधरसम्पतत्वान्धधारः ।
नानाव्याधिप्रवन्धप्रचुरतरतम × पद्मविह्वसभासु-
नीरश्चैतत्समन्ताद्यत् दुरित-

5.

ॐ — — ॐ [स]ारस्त वः ॥ [४ ॥]^९
यय्यक्त. स्वकुल ॐ — ॐ — ॐ सृष्ट्या
मिन्दान × परवलमानसं समन्तात् ।
सय्यीमाञ्जयति महेन्द्रपालदेवः
शान्तारिश्च यशधरसुन्दर शरण्यः ॥ [५ ॥]^{१०}
आसीत्तोमरतुङ्गवंशति-

6.

[लकण्यण्डप्र]तापीज्वलो
राजा रजितसाधुहृत्त[द्दयो दु]र्वृत्तशैलाशनिः ।
नाम्ना जाउल इत्यपूर्वचरितव्यातो दयालंकृति-
स्तत्वालोकिविलोकिताचितिपतिव्यापारलब्धोदयः ॥ [६ ॥]^{११}
येन प्रातिकुल क-

7.

— ॐ ॐ ॐ — नी]तं परां संपद
क्षिन्नारातिकरोन्द्रकुम्भशकल × कृत्वोपहारं भुवः ।
कीर्त्या यस्य च नाकनागनिकरव्यासङ्गत सङ्गमा-
द्गोमय स्फुरदिन्दुसुन्दररुचा स्वस्मिन्बुलीलौघितम् ॥ [७ ॥]^{१२}
प्रतिदिश-

^६ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita. The second, third, and fourth among the bracketed signs, as well as the vowel of the last, are faintly visible.

^७ Metre, Mandākrāntā. In the first Pāda the first, second, and fifth among the bracketed syllables, as well as the vowel of the third, are faintly visible. "म" in the fourth Pāda is not certain, "द" only half visible.

^८ Metre, Vasantatilakā. It seems to me that faint traces of the bracketed letters are visible.

^९ Metre, Bragdhārā. The lacuna in the first Pāda must

be filled up by असारवि, that in the last perhaps by दुरितगण

^{१०} Metre, Praharshipi. The व of 'मानस' has an ornamental tail, turned to the right, to which two small hooks are attached. The lacuna in the first Pāda may perhaps be filled by सदयहीनु.

^{११} Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita. The restoration in the first Pāda is purely conjectural.

^{१२} Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

L. 8. [ममरा]णां मन्दिराण्युच्छिताग्र-

स्थगितशशधराणि स्फारमारोपितानि ।

जगति विततमासा येन दूरं विभान्ति

स्त्रयश्च इव निरोक्षुं शङ्खो दिङ्मिखाताः [८ ॥]¹³

तत्संतानमहोदधेऽ प्रसुदितप्रोथङ्गुजङ्गाय-

9. या-

हुङ्गहाहनमौक्तिकांशुनिकरस्फारीभवत्सम्पदः ।

प्रख्यातादजनि खवङ्गतिलकः श्रीवज्रटाख्यऽ प्रभुऽ

प्राप्ताशेषमनोरथश्च शुभतरव्यापारतुङ्गोन्नतिः ॥ [९ ॥]¹⁴

तस्य स्फुरदिन्दुरुचिः श्रीरेरिव जल-

10 धिकन्यका जाता [1]

नाम्ना मङ्गलदेवी जाया गिरिजेव गिरिशस्य ॥ [१० ॥]¹⁵

तस्मात्तस्याञ्जल्युक्तऽ प्रादुरासीदुच्चैश्च शान्तस्यत्तु निर्मत्सरैषु ।

मूर्ऽ केतुर्दुर्द्वारातिचक्रो मुद्रात्सेनाकुञ्जरद्वानरीद्रे ॥ [११ ॥]¹⁶

तस्य

11. स्फुरन्निशितखङ्गनिकृत्तशब्दो-

स्त्रस्तान्धदीननिकरीद्वरणोरुकीर्तिः ।

सदृत्तरक्तवनितातिलकाङ्गकल्पी

कान्ते वभूवतुरुदारशशङ्ककान्ते ॥ [१२ ॥]¹⁷

एका चन्द्रेति विख्याता द्वितीया नाङ्केति च ।

विशि-

12. दृगुणनिर्माणाच्चे एव सदनं त्रियः ॥ [१३ ॥]¹⁸

चन्द्रायास्त्रमजनि गोगनामधेयो धीराणां धुरि विनिवेशितो विधाद्या ।

भूनाथो द्विपदिभकुम्भमेदनिर्यन्मुक्ताभिर्महितमहीतल]श्च शितासिः ॥ [१४ ॥]¹⁹

अ[सु]त [च वि-]

13. चक्षुषं क्षतविपक्षपक्षप्रभं

प्रभाकरकरोत्कारं खवलसैनिकाम्भोरुहाम् ।

अधर्मपरिपन्थिनं तदनु पूर्णराजं सुत

स्ववंशगगनोदरे तुङ्गिन[दीधितिं नायि]का ॥ [१५ ॥]²⁰

करत[ल]स्थगिताधरपक्ष-

14. वाऽ प्रतनुकान्तिकपोलतलोदरम् ।

सिपिचुरमुजलैर्यदरिस्त्रियस्वरलितप्रचुरालकजालकाः ॥ [१६ ॥]²¹

तस्य भ्राता गुणनिधिरभूत्सोदरो देवराजः

¹³ Metre, Māhāt. Only the lower portions of the bracketed syllables are visible.

¹⁴ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹⁵ Metre, Āryā

¹⁶ Metre, Śalini

¹⁷ Metre, Vasantatilakā.

¹⁸ Metre, Anushtubh. Read नायिकेति

¹⁹ Metre, Pravarshini. The bracketed letters are very indistinct, with the exception of the vowels : and i, the first two look almost like "मदि".

²⁰ Metre, Prithvi. The bracketed letters are indistinct

²¹ Metre, Drutavilambitā. Read "रुयु".

स्फूर्जतेजः प्रविहतपरस्फारसेनान्वकारः ।
स्था-

- L. 15. न चान्तेः क्षतकलिमलः क्षिप्ररागादिदीपः
स्निग्धच्छायस्तरिव ततस्त्वक्लानम्भमूर्तिः ॥ [१७]²²
नामापि प्रकटतर निश्चय यस्य क्रुद्धस्य भुक्तुटितरङ्गिताननस्य ।
दृप्ताना युधि विकसद्दिगाढभासां
16. सचंसे करतलतः कृपाणदण्डः । [१८]²³
यदास्यसरसीरुहं सरसमर्थिनां पश्यता-
त्रितान्तमगमत्त्वणात्त्वयमुपद्रवो मानसः ।
व्यधूर्णत च सन्ध्रमाप्रतिभटङ्गनहन्तिना
घटा विघटनोन्मुखी
17. समिति यस्य सद्यः पुरः ॥ [१९]²⁴
इत्युद्दामप्रकटितगुणोद्गाररम्या × क्रमेण
प्राप्तश्चोकाश्च शुभतरधियस्याधुरक्तास्त्रयोपि ।
विणोस्त्रौधान्यतुलमहस × कारयामासुरत्र
वस्तास्ती[ब्राह्मवज्र]निधेर्दुर्ग[मा-]
18. अन्दवीधेः ॥ [२०]²⁵
गोगेन कारित मध्ये पूर्वराजेन पृष्ठतः ।
पुरतो देवराजेन घनान्वतमसच्छिदे । [२१]²⁶
चतुष्पुद्रसीमाकं यावदेतन्महोत्तलम् ।
इदमायतनं तावद्दिभातु सदन त्रियः ॥ [२२]²⁷
धन्वन्तरि[प्र]-
19. तिनिधिश्च श्रुतसारमूर्ति-
स्त्रिदन्धुरच्युत इति प्रकटाभिधानः ।
काम्बोजजः प्रभुमन × कमलद्विरेफी
रामस्य स्रुतिरिह कारयिता वभूव ॥ [२३]²⁸
यक्षपालकनामैकी द्वितीयो गेष्मराभिधः ।
पाटला[ख्य]स्त्रुतो[योपि प्रा-]
20. सो भोगाय कल्पितः ॥ [२४]²⁹
अद्वार्यैः स्नानार्थैः श्रेयोर्थं देहस्य । संसारं दृष्टोच्चैः कर्तव्या सङ्गुणिः ॥ [२५]³⁰
स्त्रुतुललगनम[ानुः] — ७ — १२प्रसक्तः
श्रुतविनयविदग्धो भट्टराम × किलासीत् ।
अकृत मधुर[वन्धां सु] ७ — स्तस्य

²² Metre, Mandākrāntā.

²³ Metre, Praharsini. Read निश्चय

²⁴ Metre, Prithvi.

²⁵ Metre, Mandākrāntā. Read विष्णो. The bracketed signs are very indistinct

²⁶ Metre, Anushṭubh. Read ०वमसच्छिदे

²⁷ Metre, Anushṭubh.

²⁸ Metre, Vasantatilakā. The last syllable of the first Pāda is not very distinct

²⁹ Metre, Anushṭubh. The bracketed syllables have been conjecturally restored.

³⁰ Metre, Śāvitri. Read दृष्टोच्चैः.

L. 21.

सु-

खरसल्लितसारालीलयेमां प्रशस्तिम् ॥ [२४ ॥]²¹

यभूय सुवधारीत्र दुर्लभादित्यसंश्रितः ।

× × × × ◡ — — ◡ लादित्येन धीमता ॥ [२० ॥]²²

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Adoration to Mādhava !

(1.) May that chief male (*puruṣa*) Vishnu protect you; he who, alone (*remaining*) sleeps, when the regent of the night (*the moon*) has disappeared, when the mountains have completely crumbled away, when the foe of darkness (*the sun*) has been destroyed, when mankind have been annihilated, when the host of stars has tumbled down, when the circle of "the earth has fallen, and thus the oceans have become one"

(2.) May lovely Vishnu's beautiful eye, that is piercing through the quivering of the brow and charming with its resplendent pupil, protect all the three worlds—(*the eye*) of him who plunges into the ocean of nascent deep love, (*of him*) whose lustre [*is increased by*] the great splendour of Lakṣmī's moon-like face, (*of him*) whose cheek is dimpled with smiles.²³

(3.) May the field of Kuru grant a happiness, free from all pain,—(*that field*) which is able to remove the impurity of sins of many kinds, that is inhabited by crowds of sages, who have destroyed the dense darkness (*of ignorance*) by gaining the knowledge of the self (*and hence*) are filled with deep joy.²⁴

(4.) And may that [*beautiful*] water of Sarasvatī's (*stream*) entirely cut your [*bonds of*] misery—(*that water which is*) a boat [*for crossing the ocean of births*], a chariot for travelling along the road of the gods, a cloud such as appears on the destruction of the world, shedding copious showers on the fire of . . . the virtuous (*and*) a sun to destroy the thick mud-like darkness of a concatenation of various diseases.²⁵

(5.) Victorious is his glorious majesty Mahendrapāla, who is able [*to bless*] his race with prosperity and destroys the courage of the armies of his foes all around, whose enemies are subdued, who is beautiful like the moon and grants protection.

(6.) There was a king, Jāula by name, the front ornament of the exalted Tomara race, resplendent with [*fiery*] bravery, who gladdened the hearts of the virtuous, who was a thunderbolt for (*those*) mountains, the wicked, who was famous for his wonderful deeds, adorned with compassion, (*and*) acquainted with truth, who gained prosperity by looking after the affairs of (*his*) sovereign.

²¹ Metre, Māhri. The bracketed letters in the first Pāda have been conjecturally restored. These in the third are very indistinct, with the exception of the Anuvāra and सु. Read सु.

²² Metre, Anuṣṭubh.

²³ The verse identifies Vishnu, in accordance with the Vaiṣṇava doctrine, with the supreme Brāhman, and describes his condition during the period of the destruction of the world at the end of a kalpa.

²⁴ This verse seems to refer to Vishnu, when he is awake. The words placed between square brackets are, of course, nothing but a conjectural attempt to connect the two ends of the mutilated compound.

²⁵ Regarding the sanctity of Kurukṣetra, see, e.g., Manu, II, 10, where, just as here, it is called the Brāhmarāṣṭra, the country of the Brāhmanical sages. It is mentioned here, because it includes Pāṭha, the place where the temple was built.

²⁶ I take समन्वाय in the fourth Pāda to stand for समन्वय and यय, just as निमिषादि in verse 13 line 12) stands for निमिषाद् and च. The words placed between square brackets are, here and in the sequel, translations of my conjectural restorations.

(7.) He conducted his relatives to highest prosperity . . . , presenting, as offerings to the earth, pieces cut off from the temples of the mighty elephants of his foes; and his fame, that possessed a splendour fair like the glittering moon, assumed the guise of the stream of heaven (*Gangā*), since it clave to the heavenly elephants and united with the sky.

(8) That (*man*), possessed of far-spreading lustre, built in this world in every region numerous palaces of the immortals, that obscure the moon with their lofty tops, (*and*) they look from afar like posts fixed (*by him*) at the quarters of the horizon in order to set limits to his fame.

(9) From his famous ocean-like race, that is the home of joyful prospering intimates of princes, that is difficult to overcome, and possesses great riches of numerous resplendent pearls,³⁷ sprung a lord, called the illustrious Vajrata, the front ornament of his family, who obtained all his wishes and gained a lofty elevation through most pure business transactions.

(10.) He wedded a wife, charming like the glittering moon, called Mangaladevi just as Śauri (*Viśnu*) (*took*) the daughter of the ocean (*Lakṣmī*) and Girīśa (*Śiva*) the daughter of the mountain (*Pārvatī*).

(11) He begot by her Jajjuka, who (*was*) exceedingly peaceful among good men who are free from envy, (*but*) a terrible comet for the army of his invincible foes, that inspired terror through the trumpeting of the angry war elephants.

(12) He (*Jajjuka*), who cut down his enemies with his sharp sword and gained wide-spreading glory by succouring the fearful, the blind and the distressed, had two wives, who were almost the front-ornaments of virtuous, attached women, and lovely like the noble moon

(13) One was famed as Chandrā and the second as Nāyikā; being created out of the most excellent virtues, they were both abodes of happiness.

(14) From Chandrā was born a prince, called Gogga, whom the creator placed at the head of firm men, who gladdened the earth with the pearls issuing from the rents in the temples of the elephants of his foes, who possessed a sharp sword.

(15.) And afterwards Nāyikā bore a clever son, Pūrnarāja, a destroyer of the splendour of the adherents of his enemies, a conglomerate of the rays of the sun for those lotuses, the soldiers of his army, a foe of unrighteousness, a moon in the womb of his race (*that is pure*) like the sky.

(16.) The wives of his foes, covering their lips, (*red*) like young shoots, with their hands, and straightening their rich curls, moistened their hollow cheeks, that possessed little splendour, with the water of their tears

(17.) Devarāja, a store of virtues, was his uterine brother; he who destroyed the dense darkness, the armies of his foes, by a sudden burst of his brilliant courage, (*he who was*) the abode of forbearance, destroyed the impurity of the Kālī age, cast off love and the other sinful passions, and resembled a tree, giving agreeable shade and bending under good fruit.³⁸

³⁷ In order to make the translation less cumbersome, I have not given the second meanings of प्रसूदितमोचमुज्जगाद्य and दुष्य. Referred to the ocean, they mean 'which is the abode of joyful rising snakes and which is difficult to cross.' Regarding the meaning of मुज्जग, 'an intimate of a king' (not a dissolute intimate of a king), see the smaller St Petersburg Dictionary, *sub voce*

³⁸ The double meanings of सिन्धुशाय and सत्त्वानन्दमूर्ति have been intentionally omitted

(17. 18.) When the proud (*foes*) whose exceeding brilliancy unfolded itself in the battle merely heard the most famous name of that (*warrior*) who angrily furrowed his face with frowns, then their strong swords fell from their hands.

(19) When suppliants with rapture looked on his lotus face, their mental anxiety completely vanished in an instant; and the crowd of hostile, trumpeting elephants always shook before him in battle, ready to disperse.

(20.) These three (*brothers*), who thus were lovable on account of the manifestation of extraordinary famous virtues, who gradually gained wealth, who were most pure-minded and attached to holy men, caused to be built here temples of Viṣṇu, who is endowed with unequalled greatness, because they were afraid of the dreadful ocean of existences that is difficult to cross for men of little wisdom.

(21.) (*The temple*) in the middle has been built by Gogga's order, (*that*) at the back by Pārparāja's, and (*that*) in front by Devarāja's, in order to destroy the dense, deep darkness.

(22.) As long as this earth is bounded by the four oceans, so long may this temple be resplendent as a mansion of Śrī.³⁹

(23.) A man of Kāmboja descent, the son of Rāma, whose famous name is Achyuta, was here the overseer (*lārayitā*), he who is an image of Dhanvantari, an incarnation of the quintessence of learning, a friend of the virtuous, and a bee on the lotus of the heart of his master.⁴⁰

(24.) One village called Yakshapālaka, a second named Gejjara, and a third named Pātala, have been assigned for the enjoyment (*of the god*).⁴¹

(25.) With respect to this (*gift*), noble protectors of the earth, considering the course of mundane existence, must show an entirely virtuous disposition⁴² for the welfare of their bodies.

(26.) There was, indeed, a Bhatta Rāma, the son of his sky-like race, attached to . . . , learned and modest; his son, Mu . . . made in play (*as it were*) this sweetly composed, graceful eulogy that is full of sentiment.

(27.) Here was a mason named Durlabhāditya. [*His son*], wise . . . ālāditya, [*has engraved it.*]

³⁹ The meaning probably is that the poet wishes the temple to shine in its original splendour (Śrī) until the end of the kalpa.

⁴⁰ As Dhanvantari is the Indian Asklepios, the statement that Achyuta was his image, may mean that he was a Vaidya by caste, or that he was a doctor as well as an architect. मधु × कमलद्विरेकः, 'a bee on the lotus of the heart of his master,' is a variation of the more common पादकमलद्विरेकः, which did not fit the metre, and means, like the latter, 'an obedient servant.'

⁴¹ 'For the enjoyment (*of the god*),' i. e., for the temple-service.

⁴² I. e., future kings must not resume the grant.

XXXI.—BILHARI STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE RULERS OF CHEDI.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH D, C.I.E ; GOTTINGEN.

The stone which bears this inscription¹ is said to have been found at Bilhari, the Bahhri² or Bilheree of the maps, Indian Atlas, quarter-sheet No 70 S E, Latitude 23° 48' North, Longitude 80° 19' East, described as one of the oldest towns in the Jabalpur District of the Central Provinces. In 1861 it was at Jabalpur, where it was reported to have been carried about 20 years before,³ and it is now in the Nagpur Museum.

The inscription consists of 33 lines which cover a space of about 6' 3" broad by 3' high, and are surrounded by a raised edge all the way round. With the exception of one or two *alsharas* at the end of the lines, the writing is well preserved up to line 30, and the reading, in consequence, is so far hardly anywhere in the least doubtful. But in the last three lines, as will appear from my transcript of the text, altogether between 30 and 40 *aksharas* have become illegible, at the lower proper left corner of the stone and in the first half of the last line. The average size of the letters is $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī of about the eleventh century; they were well and carefully written by Nāī, the son of the *karanika* or writer of legal documents Dhīra, and skilfully engraved by Nonna, the son of the artisan Samgama (verse 86).

The language is Sanskrit; and, excepting the introductory *om om namaḥ Śrīvāya*, the words *api cha* and *kiñcha* in lines 1 and 19, and short passages in lines 30-33, the inscription is in verse. The verses 1 to 45 were composed by Śrīnivāsa, the son of Sthīrānanda; the remaining verses, at any rate up to verse 78, by Sajjana, the son of Thīra (verses 77-78). As a piece of poetry, the inscription possesses little merit, and of its two authors Sajjana is inferior to Śrīnivāsa, both as a poet and as regards his knowledge of the language. In respect of orthography, there are few things that need here be drawn attention to. The letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*. The sibilants are generally employed each in its proper place, and we find the dental sibilant used for the palatal only in *visarppat-saurya*-, line 14, *kīrttis=Savāgama*-, line 20, and *śhodasikā*-, line 31. Instead of *anusvāra* we have the dental nasal in the interior of simple words in *vanśa*, lines 3, 21, and 29; *vidhvansa*, line 4, *uttansa*, line 6, *mānsa*, line 9, *tapānsi tejānsi*, line 20; *hansa*, line 28,—and at the end of words before a sibilant, *e g.*, in *sansāra*, line 24 (twice), *evan=sambhavatsu*, line 6, *utthan=sadvandī*-, line 13, etc. Frequently a final *m* has been left unchanged before an initial *v*, *e g.*, in *°damvaram=vah* and *°tām-vibhrati*, line 3; *bhuvam=vilebhe*, line 8; *yam=vīkshya*, line 14, etc.;—and final *n* has remained unchanged before *j* and *ś* in *bhagavān=jyotsnām*, line 16, and *gunān=śakshyatsi*, line 26. The dental nasal has been wrongly changed to the lingual in *dhenur=ṇanu*, line 15, and it has been wrongly retained in *vairāgyena*, line 21. Before *r*, *t* has been

¹ The text has been published before, with an abstract of the contents, by Dr F E Hall in the *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol XXX, pp 317-334, and the contents of the inscription, as furnished by Dr Hall, have been discussed by Sir A Cunningham, *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. IX, pp 80 and 102-105. My own text, which will be found to differ in some important particulars from Dr. Hall's, has been prepared from two good impressions, one of which I owe to Dr. Burgess and the other to Mr Fleet.

² See Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p 23, and the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, second ed., vol II, p 13.

Jour. As. Soc. Beng. vol XXX, p 322

frequently doubled, e.g., in *śvetātapatrayitam*, line 1; *nettrād-Attrer-ddharillri*, line 3; *Dattātreya*, line 5, etc.;—and, on the other hand, a single consonant has been employed instead of a double consonant in *ujvalimā*, line 3; *ujralam*, lines 28 and 30; *°lasadyu°* (for *°lasad-dyu°*), line 1; *āsīdvishad°* (for *āsīd-dvishad°*) and *prochekhalajcālā°* (for *prochekhalaj-jcālā°*), line 4. Lastly, the syllable *ri* has been used instead of the vowel *ri* in *dripta*, line 12, and in *satyādrīta*, line 14. As instances of wrong grammatical forms, I may point out *akrita*, used in a passive sense (for *alāri*) in verse 54, and the masculine *°arakchandandīni* in verse 62, wrongly employed instead of the neuter *°arakchandandīni*.

The inscription may possibly have contained a date at the end of the last line; but, if such was the case, it has become entirely effaced, and is no longer legible. I have already stated that the inscription has been composed by two different authors; and I have no doubt that, what is now its first portion, from verse 1 to 45, originally was, or formed part of, an independent *prākāśa*, and that this original *prākāśa* was renewed and enlarged by the addition of the verses 46-86 of the present inscription, two or three generations after the composition of the first part.

The object of the first part (verses 1-45) is, to record that the queen Nohalā, the wife of (the Chodi ruler) Keyūrararsha, erected a temple of Śiva at which the inscription may be supposed to have been put up; that she endowed this temple with (the revenues of) the villages Dhangatapātaka, Pondī, Nāgabala, Khailapātaka, Vidā, Sajjāhali and Goshthapālī; and that she also gave the villages of Nipānīya and Ambipātaka to the sage Īśvaraśiva, a disciple of Śabdaśiva, who again was a disciple of Pavanaśiva (verses 40-45). Nohalā was a daughter of Avaniarman, a son of Sadhanva and grandson of Simhavarman, of the clan of the Chaulukyas (verses 33-37). And her husband Keyūrararsha was a son of the prince Mugdhatunga (verse 18), who was a son of Kokkalladeva (verse 12), described as a descendant of Arjuna (Kārtavīrya, verse 8), of the tribe of the Haihayas (verse 7), who belonged to the lunar race. Of Kokkalladeva it is recorded (verse 17) that 'he set up two unprecedented columns of his fame,' which I understand to mean that he was allied with, and supported the rule of, Kṛishnarāja in the south and Bhojadeva in the north, and Mugdhatunga is eulogised as having conquered the lines of country by the shore of the eastern sea and wrested Pālī from the lord of Kosala.

The second part of the inscription (in verse 46) opens with the statement that Nohalā's son by Yuvarājadeva was Lakshmanarāja,—from which it is clear that the prince Keyūrararsha, who is spoken of in the preceding, was surnamed Yuvarājadeva. Lakshmanarāja, called 'the moon of the Chedis' (verse 56) and 'the powerful Chedi lord' (verse 59), made over the sacred buildings which had been founded by Nohalā to certain sages whose spiritual lineage is detailed in verses 48-58. On his warlike expeditions he is said to have reached the shores of the western ocean, where he worshipped Śiva at the famous temple of Someśvara⁴ or Somanātha in Gujarāt; and he also is reported to have defeated the ruler of Kosala, and to have despoiled him of a valuable effigy of Kālīya which had been obtained from the lord of Odra, and which subsequently

⁴ The same story is told of Yuvarājadeva, the father of Kokalla, in the Karanbel inscription of Jayasimbadeva. See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII p. 215.

was by Lakshmanarāja likewise dedicated to Someśvara (verses 59—63). His son was Śamkaragana (verse 64), and the younger brother of this prince was Yuvarājadeva (verse 67). Nothing of historical importance is recorded of either of these two brothers.

We have then here presented to us the following line of Chedi princes.—

- (1) Kokkalladeva; supported Krishnarāja in the south and Bhojadeva in the north.
- (2) His son Mugdhatunga; wrested Pāli from the lord of Kosala.
- (3) His son Keyūravārsha-Yuvarājadeva; married Nohalā, the daughter of the Chaulukya Avanivarman.
- (4) Their son Lakshmanarāja; defeated the king of Kosala and worshipped Someśvara in Gujārāt.
- (5) His son Śamkaragana.
- (6) His younger brother Yuvarājadeva.

Reserving a full account of the history of the Chedi rulers for a future occasion, I will only state here that I agree with Sir A. Cunningham in assigning the Kokkalladeva of this inscription to the end of the ninth century A. D., and in distinguishing him from Kokalladeva, the son of Yuvarājadeva and father of Gāngeyadeva, of other Chedi inscriptions, who must have lived about 100 years later. For there can be no doubt that the Krishnarāja and Bhojadeva, who are spoken of as his contemporaries, are the Rāshtrakūta Krishna II., whom we know to have married a daughter of Kokkalla,^a and who reigned from about A. D. 875 to about A. D. 911, and Bhojadeva of Kanauj, for whom^b we have the dates A. D. 862, 876, and 882, and who had ceased to reign in A. D. 903. And considering this point to be certain, I feel no hesitation in assigning our inscription to about the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century A. D.,—a period to which it may be assigned also on palæographical grounds.

There are still one or two points in our inscription which may here be drawn attention to. The account of the sages who are mentioned in connection with the prince Lakshmanarāja opens by glorifying a place Kadambaguhā (verse 49), and mentions a prince, named Avantī, who apparently made over to one of the sages a town which was perhaps called Mattamayūra. These (and one or two other) names occur also in an inscription at Ranod, which has been edited in the *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XVI, p. 1080, but which must remain useless for the elucidation of the present inscription until it has been edited properly. Besides, we find towards the end of our inscription, between verses 83 and 84, the names of the towns Tripurī, Saubhāgyapura, Lavananagara, Durlabhapura, and Vimānapura (?), the inhabitants of which would seem to have had to contribute towards the support of the temple founded by Nohalā. Of these towns, which no doubt all belonged to the Chedi kingdom, Tripurī has been identified with the village of Tewar near Jabalpur, and Saubhāgyapura probably is the town of Sohāgpur in the Hoshangābād District; the others I am unable to identify. And lastly, it may be pointed out that verse 85 contains a curious reference to the poet Rājasekhara, whom in my account of the Siyadonī inscription I have shown to have flourished at the beginning of the tenth century A. D. The manner in which

^a See Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 67 and 35 36.

^b See *ante*, p. 171.

his name is mentioned here,⁷ shows that he must have been a poet of great repute about the commencement of the eleventh century.

In conclusion, it may be stated that, of the villages which are said to have been granted by the queen Nohalā, Pondi has by Sir A. Cunningham⁸ been identified with the village of Pondi which still exists 4 miles to the north-west of Bilhari, and that, according to the same authority, Khailapātaka most probably is now represented by Khailwāra, 6 miles east-north-east of Bilhari.

TEXT.⁹

L. 1.

श्री¹⁰ [॥^x] श्री नमः शिवाय ॥

पायादः स समस्तमंगलनिधिः शम्भोर्जटाजूटको

य[स्मिं]क्षीलसद्यु(द्यु)मण्डलगलन्मन्दाकिनीवारिभिः ।

गाढग्रन्थिनिपीडितोरगपतिप्रस्फारफुल्लत्पणा-¹¹भीमव्यावृतवक्त्रमारुतधृतैः श्वेतातपचायितं ॥¹²—[1].

अपि च ॥

अव्यादयन्त्रचूडस्य लोचनार्चिष्मतः शिखा [१^x]मित्रमेव स्मरत्येति दग्धं विधुमिवोद्धता ॥¹³—[2].

यं खेलाय पडाननः शिशुतया कृत्वा ग्रहं मार्गति

ग्रंथो यस्य

2.

दुरोदरैः पुरभिदो देव्या समं दीव्यतः ॥(1)

केलीकोपकथासु येन तनुते हेतिक्रिया पार्वती

पायादः स जटावनैककुसुमं शार्वः सुधादीधितिः ॥¹⁴—[3].

दिक्षु प्रेखाभियोगप्रवलितवलनाविभ्रमाकाण्डचण्डै-

र्दीर्घङ्गानां प्रकामप्रथिमभिरनिलैर्दूरसुत्सारितासु ।

किंच प्रस्फारचारीनमदवनिवशाद्गोत्रि याते महत्ता-

मव्यादव्याहतेर्च्छं त्रिपुरविजयिनस्ताण्डवाडम्ब(म्ब)र-

3.

स्वः¹⁵ ॥¹⁶—[4].वन्धेत्¹⁷ सोमसंभूतौ वाचं निक्षिपता मया [१^x]हन्त हस्तैरुपक्रान्ता मोहेन वियती मितिः ॥¹⁸—[5].

वाचासुज्व(ज्व)लिमापि नास्ति यदि मे तत्कीर्त्यमानोन्नते-

रक्षादेव महीयसः शशधृतो वंशात्स सम्पत्स्यते [१^x]

यद्वा पश्य निसर्गकालिमभुवोप्याशेभदानच्छटाः

क्षीरोदन्वति किन्न सङ्गतिमृतस्तच्छायताम्बिभ्रति¹⁹ ॥²⁰—[6].

⁷ Notwithstanding Dr Hall's somewhat guarded statement to the contrary, Rājasekhara had nothing to do with the composition of this inscription

⁸ Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. IX, p. 104.

⁹ From two impressions, one taken by Dr Burgess, and the other by Mr Fleet.

¹⁰ Expressed by a symbol.

¹¹ Originally ° पतिः प्र°, but the sign for visarga is struck out.

¹² Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita

¹³ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

¹⁴ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita

¹⁵ Read ° रं व., पाडम्बर is ordinarily used as a masculine noun

¹⁶ Metre, Sragdharā

¹⁷ Read वन्धेत्.

¹⁸ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

¹⁹ Read ° स्तां विभ्रति

²⁰ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita

नेष्ठादन्नेर्द्धरिचीधवलनसुहृदा धाम धाम्नासुदच-
क्षीकालोक यदा-

L 4

य प्रभवमतलिनधान्तविध्वन्सहेतुः²¹

सोय सोमाभिधानस्तिलकयति कला मौलिमस्यैव शम्भो-

रस्मादेव प्रहृत्त, किमपरमयमप्यन्वयो रैहयानां ॥²²-[7].

अस्मिंश्च वन्द्यतमताम्रमिते वु(वु)धाद्यैराद्यैर्नृपैर्नृपतिरज्जुन इत्युदारः ।

आसीद्वि(दि)पद्विपिनकर्त्तनकीर्त्तनीयकीर्त्तिच्छटाच्छुरितदीर्घदिगन्तरालः ॥²³-[8].

यहसस्तटताडनातितरलवृत्त्यपविप्रोच्छल-

ज्वा(ज्वा)लामालिक-

5

रालितेन करिणा देवाधिपः काप्यगात् ।

नीनोष्णानित[ग] 'र्वपर्वतपतेस्तम्यापि लङ्गापते-

यदैरव्यवसायिनो यदभवत्प्रातिप्रमाणं हि तत् ॥²⁴-[9]

दत्ताशेय इति प्रकामकमलालीलायितानाम्पद

यो देवस्य सुतप्रतिश्रुतिवचःप्रीत्या यमन्वग्रहीत् ।

के वा तद्गुण्यर्णने ययमहो किं फलुभिर्नल्पिते-

मन्ये मापि च वाग्वपुर्भगवती तच्च स्फुट सुह्यति ॥- [10].

अथ ततस्तमत्पुरुषप्रतप्रततिपर्वतत, कति ना-

6.

भवन् ।

तरुणतारकराजपराजयव्यसनि(न)कीर्त्तिभूयः पतयो भूयः ॥²⁵-[11].

तेष्वेयन्मभवत्सु²⁶क्रममनु मनजाययतामादधानो

धन्यानामेकसीमा समुपनतमहोमण्डलाखण्डलाभः ।

जात कोकप्रदेयो दलदहितलतादाहदावायमानो

मानोत्तमस्य²⁷ यस्य क्षिभुवनयलयव्यापनोभूतापः ॥²⁸-[12].

भुवनविजयहेतोर्मुक्तमर्यादयादसदनलडितलोलैर्यदलैस्त्वलङ्घिः²⁹ ।

अतनिनतरभारभ्रगुर्वी-

7

विर्षादत्कणफलककलापो भोगिभर्त्ता य(व)भूय ॥³¹-[13].

श्यामाशङ्किभिराकुनैर्विजघटे चक्राङ्गयानान्दूयै-

रम्भोदागमविभ्रमेण विदधे लास्योत्सवः केकिभिः ।

भग्नालोकमकाण्ड एव च दृशामान्येन लेभे पद

यत्सेनारजसि क्रमादवनितस्तारापथे लुप्य(व्य?)ति ॥³²-[14].

वेल्लवनप्रणयिसैन्यभरे च यच्च मज्जङ्गिराकुलकुलाद्रिनिभैरिमेन्द्रैः ।

स भ्रान्तमन्दरगिरिसमयस्य तस्य कालाह(ह)हो; अरणमाप निधिर्जलाना ॥³³-[15].

[पत]-

²¹ Read ° विध्वन् °

²² Metre, Sragdharā

²³ Metre, Vasantatilaka

²⁴ Originally ग, altered to ग

Metre, Śardūlavikrīḍita, and of the next verse

²⁵ Metre, Drutavilambita

²⁶ Read तेष्वेय सभ

²⁷ Read भागीशस्य

²⁸ Metre, Sragdharā

²⁹ Read ° यदलैस्त्वलङ्घि

³⁰ Metre, Mālinī

³¹ Metre, Śardūlavikrīḍita

³² Metre, Vasantatilaka

- L. 8. च वैव्यस्तटमाददाने दानेद्वसेनागजमघ्ननेन ।
 भमभुशिष्ठानशकुन्तचक्रचक्रन्द दुःखादिव हृच्चजालं ॥⁴¹—[16].
 जित्वा कृत्वा येन पृथ्वीमपूर्वद्वीर्त्तिस्तम्भद्वन्द्वमारोप्यते स्म ।
 कौभोद्व्याग्दिश्वसी कृष्णराजः कौवेर्याश्च श्रीनिधिर्भोजदेवः ॥⁴²—[17].
 व(व)भूव तस्मादथ सुग्वतुङ्गस्तुङ्गस्त्रिलोक्यामपरो न यस्मात् ।
 दिशश्च यः किञ्च विजेतुकामः कामस्तश्चुर्न भुवन्विलेभे⁴³ ॥⁴⁴—[18].
 शय्या संयामलक्ष्मराः परव(व)लपरिचः पद्मवः कौपवत्याः⁴⁵
 प्रेयो दर्प्यस्य मित्रं सुचरितसलि-

9. लस्येन्द्रनीलप्रणालः ।
 शाखा शौर्यद्रुमस्य प्रसरणसरणिश्चाश्रती साहसाना-
 मासीयस्यासिरेव प्रधनपरिकरारभिणः प्रीतिपाशं ॥⁴⁶—[19].
 वलाहेतालवर्मा मुटितनिजशिरोधारिधावत्कव(व)न्म-
 ष्णाल्कुर्व्वडाकिडिम्बं(म्बं) सुखवि(वि)लविलसत्सम्मुखोत्सासुखोत्सं ।
 "भास्वमासाभिलाषस्वनदशिवशिवाभैरवारावरीद्रं
 रीद्रं यो धाम" वि(वि)भ्रम्रतिसमरमिति द्वेपिचक्रश्चकार ॥⁴⁷—[20].
 उपविपिनभुवो निधेर्जलानामधिवसता कटकेन यस्य यातुः ।
 चव-

- 10 चयविचलद्वधूकरायद्विगुणितविद्रुमपद्मवा व(व)भूवुः ॥⁴⁸—[21].
 इह विहितविलासा वीचयो वारिराशेरिह स वस(ह?)ति वायुः केरलीकेलिकारः ।
 इह हरति भुजङ्गखीरभं⁴⁹ भूरुहाणामिति मलयसमीपे यद्विचाराः प्रचेरुः ॥⁵⁰—[22].
 विजित्य पूर्व्याम्बु(म्बु)धिकूलपालीः पालीस्वमादाय च कोसलेन्द्रात् ।
 निरन्तरोद्वासितवैरिधामा धामाधिकः खड्गपतिर्य आसीत् ॥⁵¹—[23].
 गौडीगाढमनीमनोरथकरः कर्ण्णटकान्ताकुच-
 क्रीडाशैलतटीविहारहरिणी लाटीललाटाद्ददः ।
 काश्री-

11. रीविहितस्मरव्यतिकरस्तस्मात्कलिङ्गाङ्गना-
 सज्ञानव्ययनी स नीतिनयनः कीयूरवर्षोभवत् ॥⁵²—[24].
 आशापालपराजयाय जनितसैलोक्यशङ्कापदं
 सैन्यैर्यस्य युगान्तकेलिकलनैर्हृत्तप्रयाणैरपि ।
 न प्रोद्भूतिमवाप पांशुपटलं भूयीगृहीतद्विष-
 ष(व)न्दोहन्दवद्विलोचनपयःपूरप्तायां भुवि ॥ —[25].

⁴¹ Metre, Upajāti.

⁴² Metre, Śāhni.

⁴³ Read सुर्व विदिने

⁴⁴ Metre, Upajāti.

⁴⁵ Read कीपवत्याः.

⁴⁶ Metre, Śragdharā.

⁴⁷ Read माह.

⁴⁸ This word is quite clear in the impressions.

⁴⁹ Metre, Śragdharā

⁵⁰ Metre, Pūshpātāgrā

⁵¹ Originally सुजङ्गीखीरभं, but the sign for f is struck out

⁵² Metre, Mālinī

⁵³ Metre, Upajāti

⁵⁴ Metre, Śārdūlavakrīḍita, and of the next verse.

यस्ययति प्रकटपाटितकुम्भिकुम्भसुक्ताफलप्रचयवाहसुवाह देवः ।
भूयोनिपीतदृढपीडनवेगवान्स्विदेधिकीर्त्तिकणकीर्णमिवासिदण्डं ॥⁴⁸—[26].
आ कैलासाद-

L. 12

नलसलसत्पार्वतीकेलिव(व)न्तो-

रा च प्राचशिखरिवरती भास्वदुद्गासभूमेः ।

भारास्तेतोस्त्रदनु पयसामा प्रतीचीपि पत्यु-

यस्तेनानामहितनिहितानन्ततापः प्रतापः ॥⁴⁹—[27].प्रैखन्तिप्रखु[र]⁵⁰प्रघातविगलक्कीलाललोलोत्तस-

हेतालीकरयन्तुपीडनवशमश्रुत्कपालास्थिभिः ।

यस्तस्तार सविस्तरं रणभुवः कोपोत्कटाभिर्द्रु(द्रु)व-

⁵¹द्रुमहेपिशिरोभिरम्ब(म्ब)रचरीनेष्टभिभागाश्चितैः ॥⁵²—[28].

देवो रुद्रावतारस्त्रिभुवनभवनीत्तम्भनी देव एव

त्यागी देवः प्रसाद्यन्पति-

13.

नियमने नैगडन्दाम देवः ।

⁵³इत्यम्बहन्दिहन्दैरविरलविलसद्वाटुषादं वदन्नि-यस्यास्यानस्थितानामसमसुहृदां विव्यथे चित्तहृत्तिः ॥⁵⁴—[29].

भरहाजी नाम श्रुतकलुपदोपसमभ[व]-

द्य ए[क]स्त्रर्व्वमासुपशमधनानामधिपतिः ।

तदीयात्तेजस्तः कृतकलशवासाद्यदभव-

त्स वै भारहाजस्त्रिभुवनचमत्कारिचरितः ॥⁵⁵—[30].

क्षैलोक्यावधि यस्य कीर्त्तिलडितं लक्ष्मीश्च वाञ्छावधि-

यत्कोपः प्रलयोपपन्नमहिमा शपेन चापेन च ।

व[र्ण्य]स्वा⁵⁶ नयविक्र-

14.

मैकजलधिः किन्तस्य यस्याभव-

क्षोलाखर्वित[श]⁵⁷र्व्वगर्व्वगरिमा शिष्यसुभद्रापतिः ॥⁵⁸—[31].

कीदण्डताण्डवनपण्डितवा(वा)हुदण्डसुदण्डकाण्डभरखण्डितपाण्डुसैन्यम् ।

यस्वीक्ष्य⁵⁹ विक्षतविपक्षपराजयाश्रयत्याद्रि(द्रु)तस्य तपसोपि क्षुत्क्षचाल ॥⁶⁰—[32].

अथाक्षेपात्तेन द्रुपदविपदर्थोदितधिया

यदात्त शपाश्वस्तरलितकराव(व)द्वसुलुकम् ।

पुमानासीत्तस्मिन्त्रिजय इव साक्षादनु च तं

कुलं चौलुक्यानामनगुणसीम प्रवहते ॥⁶¹—[33]

विभवति च वि[स]र्ण्य[क्षौ(क्षौ)]यसौन्दर्यव-

⁴⁸ Metre, Vasantatilaka.⁴⁹ Metre, Mandākrāntā⁵⁰ This *akshara* originally was *र*, but the vowel appears to have been struck out⁵¹ Read *द्रुम*, this alteration may have been made already⁵² the original⁵³ Metre, Śardūlavikrīḍita⁵⁴ Read *इत्य* *स*⁵⁵ Metre, Śragdhara⁵⁶ Metre, Śikharinī⁵⁷ Read *वर्ण्य* *वा*⁵⁸ Originally *श*, altered to *श*.⁵⁹ Metre, Śardūlavikrīḍita⁶⁰ Read *य* *वीक्ष्य*⁶¹ Metre, Vasantatilaka⁶² Metre, Śikharinī

L. 15.

यच्चित्तिधरपरिपाटीसूचिते तच्च गोचे

रचितचटुलचापाकृष्टिकृष्टाहितयोरभवदयनियन्मा विग्वविख्यातकर्मा ॥⁶²—[34].

पितामहो यत्खलु सिंहवर्मा पिता च यद्वीरवरस्यधन्व ।

जगत्यतीवातिशयोसुनैव महानुभावत्वमतीपि यत्तु ॥⁶³—[35].

यस्य त्यागस्यकलजनतापास्तदारिद्र्यसुहो

वेलाव(व)न्मुचितिधरदरोचारितारिः प्रतापः ।

ईष्टे स्यष्टन्⁶⁴यदि⁶⁵गणनान्तहुशानाम्बिधातु⁶⁶म्वाचान्धेनुर्ण(र्न)नु भगवती भारती यस्य वग्ना ॥⁶⁷—[36].

रुद्राणीमिव भूभृतां परिहृढी

16.

लक्ष्मीमिवाभोनिधिः

कालिन्दीमिव भास्करस्य भगयान्धो(ध्वरो)त्प्रामिवाधेसुतः ।

वैदेहीमिव जानकः क्रतुविधिः श्रीनोहलेत्यनुतं

कन्या नाम ललाम तान्⁶⁸ सुपुत्रे सामन्तचिन्तामणिः ॥⁶⁹—[37].

भर्तुः पुलोमतनयेव मरुङ्गणानां च्छा(छा)येय दष्टतमसां महसाश्च पत्युः ।

देवस्य सा रतिरिवेत्तुशरासनस्य कीयूरवर्पट्टपतेर्हयिता व(व)भूव ॥⁷⁰—[38].

देव्या तया मदजलच्छटयेय दन्ती वा(वा)लप्रया(वा)ललतयेय तटः पयोधेः ।

गुप्यत्रियेय च तरुस्तडितेय मेघः शोभां स

17.

कामपि व(व)भार नरेन्द्रचन्द्रः ॥ —[39]

निर्मापितम्भुक्तसङ्गतये⁷¹ तयेदमभङ्गपाप्रशिखरस्त्वलितोष्परश्मि ।

देवस्य मन्दिरसुमाप्रणयैकव(व)न्धो[ः*] स्थानाकृति स्वयशसामिव चक्रवालम् ॥ —[40].

आकाशयानक्रमखेदितानामङ्गोधिनायस्य तुरङ्गमाणाम् ।

फेनाम्बु(म्बु)भिर्वित्त्यनिपिच्यमाना मन्ये समुद्धान्ति न यत्पताकाः ॥⁷²—[41].

विटङ्गभोगेषु ठ(ठृ)हत्सु यस्य वर्षासु तुङ्गामलसारकस्य ।

आक्षेपवत्यो नवमेघमालाः पारावतालीतुलनाम्बहन्ति⁷³ ॥⁷⁴—[42].

आसीन्माधुम[ते]-

18.

यः पवनशिवस्तमनु जयति शब्द(ब्द)शिवः ।

ईश्वरशिवः पुनाति च तस्यान्तेवासिताम्भुक्तो⁷⁵ ॥⁷⁶—[43].

तस्मै तपोनिधानाय निपानीयाम्बि(म्बि)पाटको ।

दत्तौ विद्याधनत्वेन ग्रामावग्राम्यया तया ॥⁷⁷—[44].

धङ्गटपाटकोष्ठीनागव(व)ला[ः*]खेलपाटको वीडा ।

सम्बाहली च दत्ताः क्षरारये गोष्ठपाली च⁷⁸॥—[45].⁶² Metro, Māhāt⁶³ Metro, Upendravajrā.⁶⁴ Read स्यष्ट स⁶⁵ Read परिगणना⁶⁵(य).⁶⁶ Read °यानां विधातुं वाचा °.⁶⁷ Metro, Māndākrāntā.⁶⁸ Read तं स.⁶⁹ Metro, Śārdūlavikrānta.⁷⁰ Metro, Vasanatāṭika ; and of the two next verses.⁷¹ Read निर्मापितं सुकृत °.⁷² Metro, Indravajrā⁷³ Read °सुलनां वदन्ति⁷⁴ Metro, Upajāti⁷⁵ Read °वासितां सुकृती.⁷⁶ Metro, Āryā⁷⁷ Metro, Śloka (Anuśṭubh).⁷⁸ Metro, Āryā.

ख्यातः श्रीयुवराजदेववृषतेस्तस्यामभूद्रूपति.

श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणराज ऊर्जितमहा भास्वानिवाभ्युन्नतः ।

भूभृत्पुङ्गवशिरोभिरङ्घ्रिरुचयो यत्सेविताः श्री[न्वि]-

L. 19.

[ताः]

काम यः कमनीयसुन्दरगुणैर्नैर्जिगाय स्मरम् ॥⁷⁹—[46].

यस्याहवे दृढनिपीडितखड्गकोटिनिर्द्धारितारिकरिक्कुम्भसमुद्भवेन ।

वीरश्रियः चितितले विततश्चतुष्कं सुक्तादलेन ननु कीर्तिवधूस्वकार ॥⁸⁰—[47]

किञ्च ॥

सा कदम्ब(म्ब)गुहा मान्या यत्तासीत्स्विसन्ततिः ।

तस्याः पुनरभूदन्यो रुद्रशश्वत्सुनीश्वरः ॥⁸¹—[48].

तच्च प्रभावमहनीयतमस्य तस्य श्रियोभवज्जगति मत्तमयूरनाथः ।

नि शेषकल्मषमपीमपहृत्य येन सङ्ग्रामित[स्यु?]र-

20.

महो वृषतेरवन्तेः ॥⁸²—[49]

तस्मादभूद्रुवनमण्डनतामवाप्तो भूपालमौलिमणिकान्तिभिरर्चितांघ्रिः ।

श्रीधर्मशश्वत्सुचितामलकान्तकीर्त्तिस्त्रै(शै)वागमास्तु(स्त्रु)निधिपारमितस्तपोभिः ॥ —[50].

अस्मात्सदाशिवः शिष्यस्तपोराशिरभूवृषैः ।

⁸³यत्पादद्वयस्वन्धमर्चित शिखराशुभिः॥⁸⁴—[51]

अस्मादभून्माधुमतेयनामा⁸⁵ शिष्यः सुधामा फलमूलवृत्तिः ।

तपान्ति तेजान्ति⁸⁶ च यच्च वासमनन्धसक्रान्तिगुणेन चक्रुः ॥⁸⁷—[52]

अस्माच्चूडाशिवः शिष्यो वन्दनीयतमोभवत् ।

21. कर्मजालमल येन नीतमस्त सुसुचुणा ॥⁸⁸—[53].

अथ सकलगुणानामाकरस्तस्य शिष्यो हृदयशिवसमाह्वो यद्यशीद्यापि वण्णैः ।

वृषमुकुटनिविर्देयस्य माणिक्यचक्रैरुक्त चरणमूलं कान्तमेकान्तवन्धम् ॥⁸⁹—[54].

विद्याना निलयेन येन सुधिया सत्यव्रतेनाधिक

श्रीमन्माधुमतेयवन्धवितता⁹⁰ कीर्त्तिश्चिरं वर्धिता ।

किञ्च स्मा क्षमयाम्बु(स्त्रु)दः समतया मर्यादयाभोनिधि-

र्वैराग्येन(ण) जितः स्मरः स भगवान्कस्यास्यदं न [स्तु]तेः ॥⁹¹—[55]

22 किं स्तूयतेसौ सुनिपुङ्गवोयवा श्रीचेदिचन्द्रो वृषतिः कृतादरः ।

सदृत्तदूतप्रहितैरुपायनैः प्रदर्श्य भक्तिस्त्रिधिनानिनाय⁹² यम् ॥⁹³—[56].

श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणराजोपि तस्मै सुतपसे स्तयम् ।

मठं श्रीवैद्यनाथस्य भक्तियुक्तः समार्पयत् ॥⁹⁴—[57]

⁷⁹ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita The reading श्रीयुवराजदेववृष-
पतेस् in the first line of this verse is quite distinct and
certain, and is not °वृषतिस्° See also below, note on the
translation of verse 46

⁸⁰ Metre, Vasantatilaka

⁸¹ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh)

⁸² Metre, Vasantatilaka, and of the next verse

⁸³ Read यस्य पादद्वयं बन्ध°

⁸⁴ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).

⁸⁵ Originally °मतेय°, altered to °मतेय°.

⁸⁶ Read तपान्ति तेजान्ति

⁸⁷ Metre, Upajati

⁸⁸ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh)

⁸⁹ Metre, Mālinī

⁹⁰ Read °वमवितता

⁹¹ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita

⁹² Read °भक्ति विधिना°

⁹³ Metre, Vamśastha

⁹⁴ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh), and of the next verse

स्त्रीकृत्यापि सुनिर्भूयो मठं श्रीनीहलेगतरम् ।
 अघोरशिवशिव्यस्य साधुवृत्तस्य दत्तयान् ॥ —[58].
 अथ स विहितकृत्ययेदिनाथः समर्थः करितुरगसमयः शक्तसामन्तपतिः ।
 दिग्गमतिश-

L 23. यरस्यां सम्प्रतस्थे प्रतीचीमहितजनितभीतिर्दुर्भियारप्रचारः ॥⁶⁰—[59].

समरकृतविकारान्विक्रमेण प्रकृत्य प्रणतनृपतिदत्तोपायनेर्यर्हिताश्रः ।
 हृदयनिहितवित्तैर्यर्हिनां पूरिताशो जलनिधिजलक्षेपं सैन्यचक्रं चकार ॥ —[60]
 निमग्न्य यो रत्ननिधौ श्रीमान्शोभेश्वरं शनैः ।
 अभ्यर्च्य काञ्चनैः पद्मैर[या]न्यत्तु न्ययेदयत् ॥ ⁶¹—[61].
 जित्वा कोसलनाथसो[ड]नृपतेरामस्तु यः कालियो
 रत्नस्रवणमयः स येन वि[हि]-

24. तयोमेश्वराभ्यर्चनम् ।

दत्त्वा(चा) यः करिवाजिशिवसदनसकृच्चन्दनादीन्पुनः
 "सन्सारममभ्यास्तयेतिपिनतस्तुष्टाय तुष्टः प्रभुः ॥ ⁶²—[62].
 असारं सन्सारं⁶³ य इह मनुते कोपि नृ[प]ति-
 स्वदं प्रिथ्यानत्या विगलिततमास्तत्त्व(च)निरतः ।
 न तस्य श्रीर्भूयो विक्र[ति]कृतये जन्मविरहा-
 दिति ध्यानाविष्टः शिवमहसि चित्तं विहितयान् ॥ ⁶⁴—[63].
 श्री[श]ङ्करगणस्तुष्टादभूद्भूमोश्वरो महान् ।
 यत्पादद्वन्द्वमहं द्विपद्मिरपि सेवितम् ॥ ⁶⁵—[64].
 संख्येसंख्यविपक्ष-

25. पञ्चदशनव्यासङ्गि खड्गव्रतं

यस्यासीद्दृढसाहसस्य सततन्दानं जगज्जलत् ।
 रूपेणाप्रतिभो मनोभवभवं दर्पं जहारोद्धतं
 यः सर्वज्ञ च सर्वकालमवनीनाथः स्तुतः कीर्तिदैः ॥ ⁶⁶—[65].
 यत्पादद्वयपद्मसद्व्य विततं भूतेरभूद्भूपितं
 भूपानां नमतां किरीटपिकटप्राप्तस्यगङ्गाशभिः ।
 वचोरत्ननिधिस्तमाश्रितवती⁶⁷ लक्ष्मीः क्रमेणागता
 पीरश्रीरपरैव यस्य नृपतेः कौशेयधाराश्रया ॥—[66].
 तस्य श्रीयुवराजदेवनृ-

26. पतिर्भ्राता कनीयानभू-

द्वूपैर्यश्वरपारविन्दपतितैर्भृङ्गैरिवा[ङ्ग?]स्थितम् ।
 यः सत्यव्रतसत्त्व(च)सूक्तिवसतिः श्रीविक्रमैकाग्रयः
 प्रायस्तस्य न सज्जनोपि सकलान्वक्तुं गुणान्ध्र(व्य)स्यति ॥ —[67]

⁶⁰ Read 'य' 'Mālini', and of the next verse

⁶¹ Read 'स', (Anushubh) The ak kara in brackets

⁶² Metre, Mandakranta.

⁶³ Read 'स' स

⁶⁴ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁶⁵ Metre, Vasantatilaka, and of

य of the word नृपति was,

originally omitted, and is engraved below the line. And the akshara 'ति' of विक्रि⁶⁶ may have been altered to त.

⁶⁶ Metre, Śikharapī

⁶⁷ Metre, Śloka (Anushubh)

⁶⁸ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, and of the next verse

⁶⁹ Read 'निधि' समाश्रितवती

दंष्ट्राकोटिविपाटनीप्रवदनः क्रूरसरो^१ भासुरो
 नेत्रप्रान्तविकीर्णकोपरधिरः पादप्रचारायुधः ।
 येनाक्रम्य भुजेन भूमिपतिना लाङ्गूलव(व)दक्रमो
 दैत्यो व्याघ्रवपुर्हतीतिभयदः शस्त्रीभृता पाणिना ॥—[68].
 कन्दर्पोभिनवः पुर-

L 27.

निनयनप्रोतिप्रदीप्यन्यथा

यः कालः करवालकोटिविहृतस्यूलेभकुम्भस्थलः ।
 चित्रं यच्च सरस्वतीकृतरतिः श्रीकण्ठपूजापर-
 यातुर्वर्ण्यविचारचारुचतुरो यश्चार्थचिन्तामणिः ॥ —[69].
 यस्योत्तु(त्तु)ङ्गजेल्लमज्जनगलहानाम्बु(म्बु)भिर्मित्यितं
 रेवावारि विविक्ततिक्तमुचितस्नानेन तन्वीजनः ।
 संप्राप्योरुनितम्ब(म्ब)ताडनवशव्यस्तास्तवीचीचयं
 सहदं^२ सरसौरमेण मङ्गता निर्व्याजमायोजितः ॥—[70].
 रामाणां कु-

28.

चमण्डलेषु नियतं हारप्रकारक्रमा-

संपूर्णं शशिमण्डले च विमले ज्योत्स्नाच्छलेनोज्ज्वलम् ।
 मन्ये^३ मानसवारि यस्य वितते हस्तावलीविभ्रमा-^४
 द्वात्वाशेषमुमापतेस्तु वसती विद्यान्तिमागाद्यशः ॥ —[71].
 संपूर्ण देवमीशानस्त्रिभूयः^५ स्त्रैर्यथोचितैः ।
 यथागमं यथाशास्त्रं स्तोत्रस्त्रिहितवानृषः^६ ॥ —[72].
 अविचलितमनोभिर्यस्वमीश क्षितीशैर्विभवविहितकृत्यैरिष्यसे ते कृतार्थाः ।
 य इह कृतवि?]-

29.

कारा मन्मथैकान्तचिता(त्ता) भवति वरद तेषां संपदुन्मादहेतुः ॥^७ —[73].

समदकरिघटाभिः किं किमङ्गाङ्गनाभिर्भदनशयनलीलां भावयन्तीभिराभिः ।
 कनकतुरगवासीरत्नजातैर्न कृत्यं न हि भवति भवानीवल्लभस्यार्चनं चेत् ॥ —[74].
 भवति नृपतिवन्द्ये^८ जन्म पृथ्वी च भोग्या श्रुतमुचितविचारधाररूपप्रभावः ।
 समरविजयसप्तस्य यो निःप्रपञ्चस्वरणयुगलमूलं^९ संन्यतः शङ्करस्य ॥ —[75].
 [किमिह]

30.

व(व)हुभिरुक्तैर्नाय सर्वस्य हेतुर्भवतु भवति नित्यं भक्तियोगो ममेकः ।

सकलसुखविशेषाद्यद्य पीयूषवर्षः स्त्रयमनुभवगम्यो जायते त्वयसादात् ॥ —[76].
 भूपक्षययशोराशिर्वर्णनं प्रथमं कृतम् ।
 श्रीमता श्रीनिवासेन श्रीस्त्रिरानन्दचतुना ॥^{१०} —[77].

^१ Originally क्रूरसरो, but visarga struck out.

^२ The व of नेत्र was originally omitted and is engraved below the line

^३ The second and third aksharas of this word are somewhat indistinct, but the two signs for anuvāra are quite clear

^४ Originally मान्ये, altered to मन्ये

^५ Read त्रैय^०.

^६ Read ० शानं विमर्षः.

^७ Originally क्षीर^०, read क्षीरं विहि^०

^८ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

^९ Metre, Mālinī, and of the next three verses

^{१०} Read ० वने

^{११} Read निःप्रपञ्च^०

^{१२} Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); and of the next verse